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YOUNG PERSONS.

EDITED
BY THE REV. HENRY WARE, JR.

VOL. II.
THE LIFE OF JOHN HOWARD.

CAMBRIDGE:
BROWN, SHATTUCK, AND COMPANY.
BOSTON:
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND CO.
1833.

LIVES OF PHILANTHROPISTS.

VOLUME I.

1724-1725
JOHN HOWARD.

Mrs. Eliza Howard (Retch) Howard
1791-1871

By MRS. JOHN FARRAR,

Author of "Congo in search of his Master"; "The Children's Robinson Crusoe"; and "The Story of the Life of Lafayette."

State Historical Society
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It was natural to begin the Lives of Philanthropists with memoirs of Howard ; but it was not at first our intention that a whole volume should be devoted to them. It was found difficult, however, to compress the incidents of his important career into less space, without sacrificing something of the effect which ought to be produced. For we were desirous not only to inform our young readers who Howard was, when he lived, and what he did, but to interest them in his undertakings, and cause them, by the contemplation of his example, to catch something of his spirit. This could not be done without going somewhat minutely into particulars. General statements are unimpressive. We are affected by details. We need to see for ourselves the very scenes in which the philanthropist was engaged, the very persons whom he relieved, and the very minutiae of the evils, however dreadful, which he sought to remedy. Then only can we appreciate the

value and extent of his labors ; and in order to this it is necessary to dwell with some particularity on the circumstances and progress of his enterprise.

But we had in view a still further object. Howard opened to the activity of Christian benevolence a new field of exertion. He penetrated into a region of suffering which had been before unobserved, and taught men to sympathize with a class of their fellow-beings who had been cast out with abhorrence and loathing from the pale of human regard. He did much to effect a change in the feelings of the community, and it was thought that he had commenced a reform which would go on until the evils in question should be wholly removed. But after his death the interest which had been excited, in a great measure died away ; and although the British prisons never again became the depositories of oppression and wretchedness which they had formerly been, they by no means continued to improve. There was wanting the devoted action of some one disinterested mind to keep alive the languid attention of the community. Within a

few years the work has been resumed. Mrs. Fry has shown what wonderful things may be effected by the resolute and persuasive spirit of Christian love. Others have coöperated. The British Prison Discipline Society has labored well to maintain an oversight of the gaols, and to extend information, and to excite attention. Still, however, far less has been accomplished than might have been during the half-century since Howard began the reform; and there still needs that pains be taken to extend an interest in this important department of philanthropic exertion.

In our own country early attention was paid to this subject. The penitentiary at Philadelphia was for many years a model, and more recently those of Auburn, Weathersfield, Charlestown, &c., have been conducted on admirable principles and with gratifying success. It has come to be understood that, as the object of imprisonment is security to the community and the reformation of the offender, no hardship is to be inflicted beyond the confinement necessary to effect these ends; that, instead of oppression or neglect, the most

a*

scrupulous regard is to be had to the cleanliness and health of the wretched beings ; and that the utmost is to be done to promote their reformation, by cutting them off from all corrupting influences from one another and from abroad, and by constant, affectionate, moral and religious instruction. It has thus been attempted, and in many cases with great success, to change the character of prisons from seminaries of corruption and crime, which they undoubtedly are when ill conducted, to schools of virtue and reform. Great praise is due to the exertions of the Prison Discipline Society, and to those individuals of both sexes who, as visitors, and Sunday-school teachers, and chaplains, have aided this benevolent work.

If it be true that "he who turns a sinner from the error of his ways, shall save a soul from death, and hide a multitude of sins," then this is a most praiseworthy and important enterprise. Yet it is far from having attracted all the attention which it deserves. It has received far too little of the patronage and coöperation of the friends of society and reli-

gion. Many remain unenlightened and uninterested on the subject. After all that has been done and published during the last fifty years, it is mortifying to know that only a few years ago new prisons were erected in Boston, without any regard to the improvements which had been elsewhere adopted and proved to be all-important. This could not have been, had the public mind been properly attentive to the subject. The same thing from the same cause is likely to happen in other places, and thus to render vain the toils of Howard and his laborious followers. That it may not be so, information on the subject must be diffused as widely as possible. The rising generation must be imbued with it. They must be made to grow up and to enter on life with a feeling, that, as citizens and as Christians, they are to have a concern for this wretched portion of society, and to do something toward aiding their return to virtue and to God. We beg our young readers to peruse the present volume with this thought in their minds ; and when they have acquainted themselves with the remarkable things which it records, and have learned to ad-

mire the good man whom it commemorates, let them not suffer their interest in it to die away ; let them remember that there are prisons and sufferings in the midst of them ; and that they have it in their power in some degree to imitate the excellence they admire, by their sympathy, their prayers, their contributions, or their personal services, according as their situation and opportunities may allow. They may not become Howards ; but they may do something to prevent Howard's labors from being in vain.

H. W., Jr.

Cambridge, 16 June, 1833.

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THE

LIFE OF JOHN HOWARD.

INTRODUCTION.

“WHAT is the meaning of the word *philanthropist*?” said a boy of twelve years of age, as he turned over a book of engravings, and saw written underneath one of them, JOHN HOWARD, THE PHILANTHROPIST.

“It means,” replied his father, “a man who loves the whole human race well enough to devote himself to their service, and is willing to sacrifice his own ease and pleasure to their good.”

“I should not think,” continued the boy, “that any one could love people he had never seen, well enough to make great sacrifices for them.”

“And yet, my son, when you heard, the other day, of the dreadful sufferings of the inhabitants of the Cape Verde Islands, you pitied them very

much, and were willing to contribute some of your pocket-money to their relief; now, when you grow up to be a man, if you should be convinced that by going to those Islands, you would do the people great good, and prevent their being again in such a suffering condition, do you not think you should be willing to give up the comfort of your own home, and make a voyage there ? ”

“ To be sure I should,” said Harry, and his eyes sparkled at the thought of being useful.

“ Well, then, you would be a philanthropist, that is, a lover of your fellow beings.”

“ I should be glad to do them good, father ; but I should not love them as I do you, and mother, and Lizzy.”

“ True, it is a different kind of love ; at your age, it is perfectly natural and proper, that those immediately around you, to whom you are indebted for your daily comforts and happiness, should engage your warmest love ; but as your knowledge increases, and your mind enlarges, I hope your affections will spread out, so as at last to comprise the whole human family. The same feeling which makes you now take pleasure in giving up your own convenience to your sister’s, and makes you, in the midst of your own play, run willingly on an errand for your mother, will,

by constant exercise, make you in time a faithful friend, a good neighbour, a patriot, and a philanthropist. Each of those characters requires a wider and wider extension of your love."

All the time his father was speaking, Harry kept his eyes fixed upon the print of John Howard, and after examining it very attentively he said, "He has a kind look, and a very earnest look too."

"Ah," said his father, "it may well look *kind* and *earnest* too, if it be a likeness of that extraordinary man; for he was perhaps the greatest philanthropist that ever lived, and his perseverance was equal to his love. You see he is called "Howard, *the Philanthropist*," as if there were none other like him, and truly there probably never was his equal. He was a man of an independent fortune, and might have lived at home and enjoyed his ease among a circle of admiring friends and grateful neighbours; but after doing much good in his own neighbourhood, and performing all his duties to his own family, a wider field of usefulness opened to him, and he devoted himself wholly to it. He exposed himself to the greatest dangers and privations, underwent such fatigue as few could have endured, spent one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and travelled between

fifty and sixty thousand miles, for the sole purpose of relieving the distresses of his fellow beings all over Europe ; and so earnest was he, in the pursuit of this good object, that he could not be turned aside by the extremes of heat or cold, by the worst roads and meanest accommodations ; neither plague, pestilence, nor famine could stop his progress ; on he went, devoting himself to the good of others, till his life was sacrificed in the cause."

"He was a philanthropist indeed !" said Harry, "I should like to know more about him, and how it was that he could do good by travelling in foreign countries. I thought that people travelled to see sights and amuse themselves."

"So they do in general," said Mr. M——, "and John Howard first travelled in that way ; but afterwards his foreign tours were undertaken for the purpose of mitigating the sufferings of the most wretched of mankind ; he devoted himself to visiting prisons and hospitals, that he might find out abuses, and point out the best means of correcting them. He was the friend of those whose misery was hid in dungeons, and whose cries were heard only by their oppressors and fellow sufferers, till he nobly took up their cause, and lived and died in their service. I consider him the most remarkable example of disinterest.

ed benevolence, and indefatigable perseverance, that I ever heard of; and if you would like to read his life, I will give you a short account of him, containing all the most interesting particulars that are to be found in larger biographies of him."

Henry thanked his father, and said he should be very glad of the opportunity; and the next Sunday afternoon, his father gave him the following narrative.

1*

CHAPTER I.

HOWARD'S BIRTH, EDUCATION AND APPRENTICESHIP—HE TRAVELS INTO FOREIGN COUNTRIES—HIS MARRIAGE—DEATH OF HIS WIFE—1727—1755.

How it would have surprised a person, dealing with Mr. Newnham, a grocer in the city of London, if he had been told that the slender youth serving behind the counter, as an apprentice, would become in after life so distinguished a person, as to have a marble monument erected to his memory in St. Paul's cathedral ! Greater still would have been his surprise, if informed that it would not be as a favored child of fortune, either in the army or navy, that this lad was to acquire fame ; that he was not to become celebrated in any of the learned professions ; but that, with a very indifferent education, and with what is called in England a very moderate fortune, he would become by his active benevolence, by his philanthropy, the mender of laws, the adviser of statesmen and princes, the friend of the whole human race, and the man whom the English nation delighted to honor. Yes, that pale-faced

boy, occupied about tea and sugar, in a London grocer's shop had feelings and energies within him, which, by constant exercise, became at last so powerful, that they enabled him to strike out for himself a new line of usefulness, and rendered him one of the most distinguished as well as one of the best men of the last century.

John Howard's father was an upholsterer and dealer in carpets in the city of London. Having acquired a considerable fortune, for a man in that line, he retired from business, and lived at Clapton in the parish of Hackney, one of those pleasant villages, adjoining London, to which the richer tradesmen like to remove from the noise, dirt, and smoke of the great metropolis. Here John Howard was born, about the year 1727. But as he was sent away very soon after his birth, to be nursed by a cottager, who lived on a small farm of his father's at Cardington, in Bedfordshire, many persons have said that he was born there. Cardington was afterwards celebrated as the favorite residence of the philanthropist, but it was not his birth-place.

He received his education at two different boarding-schools ; the first he left, after spending seven years at it, "without," as he says, "having been fully taught any one thing." The sec-

ond school he was at, was of a better kind ; but as he was destined to serve a seven years' apprenticeship to a trade, there is reason to believe that he could not have continued there long. It was however at this school, that he formed some of his firmest and most lasting friendships.

Young Howard's next scene of action was the shop of Mr. Newnham, the wholesale grocer. Here, at the usual age, he was bound an apprentice, and a large premium was paid with him ; but he did not serve out his time there, for on the death of his father, he purchased what remained of it, and so freed himself from the duties of a situation that had always been distasteful to him. He and his sister were the only heirs of his father's property, and according to the custom of England, his share was by far the largest. They, neither of them, however were to come into full possession of their fortunes, until they had attained the age of twenty-four. Young Howard's character for prudence and discretion was so well established, that his guardians soon entrusted him with the principal management of the estate, he was ere long to inherit. In consequence of the confidence thus reposed in him, he undertook the repairs of the family mansion at Clapton, and personally superintended the workmen.

One anecdote only is preserved of John Howard at this period of his life ; and, as it shows the early developement of his benevolent feelings, it is worthy of note. In his frequent walks to Clapton, he used to make a point of reaching the wall of his garden just at the time he knew the baker's cart would be passing ; there he would buy a loaf of bread, and throw it over the wall into the garden ; and when he afterwards saw the gardener, he would good-humoredly say, "Harry, look among the cabbages, and you will find something for your family." This anecdote used to be told, long afterwards, with great pleasure, by the old man who had thus been the object of Howard's youthful kindness, and who lived to see what great fruits such good seed could produce.

Little more is known of Howard at this time, except that he went abroad and travelled in France and Italy, for the purpose of improving his health, gaining useful information, acquiring foreign languages, and seeing the objects of curiosity most interesting to travellers. It is supposed that during this tour, he purchased the valuable paintings and other works of art, with which he afterwards adorned his residence at Cardington.

On his return to England, his health being still delicate, he took lodgings in Stoke Newington, a very healthy village near London, and there he employed himself rationally and usefully in the improvement of his mind, endeavouring by self-instruction to make up for the deficiencies of his early education. Among other pursuits, he studied some of the easier branches of natural philosophy and the theory of medicine. The latter proved a very valuable acquisition to him in after life, as we shall presently see.

Though Howard was now in possession of all the property left him by his father, and had had the advantage of foreign travel, he showed no inclination to mingle in gay or fashionable society. He had been blessed with pious parents, and the sentiment of piety was strong within him; this, together with a sound understanding, preserved him, both at home and abroad, from the follies and vices that so often ensnare young men of independent fortune. He spent his money and his time as a rational and accountable creature ought to do. He early became a member of a *dissenting* church, — which means, in England, any society of Christians who *dissent* from the Episcopal Church. The sect to which he belonged, were Congregationalists in their church gov-

ernment, and Calvinists in their doctrine. During his residence at Stoke Newington, he set on foot a subscription for purchasing a house for the minister of the congregation to which he belonged, and contributed two hundred dollars towards it. A great portion of his income was also given for benevolent purposes; nor did he wait till his charity was asked for, but sought out deserving objects and relieved them with a liberal hand, remembering the words of Jesus, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive."

It appears that, at this period of his life, he made several excursions to Bristol Hot-wells, then a favorite resort of invalids, and that he visited other parts of the kingdom for the benefit of his health. As his complaints were supposed to be of a consumptive nature, his medical attendants put him upon a very strict low diet, and this, says one of his biographers, "laid the foundation of that extraordinary abstemiousness and indifference to the gratifications of the palate, which ever after so much distinguished him."

Not finding that sympathy and kindness, in the mistress of the house where he lodged at Newington, which he had a right to expect, and which, as an invalid, he required, he took occasion, on returning from one of his excursions, to

change his lodgings, and removed to the house of a widow, Mrs. Sarah Loidoire, in the same town. He had not been long established in his new quarters, before he was attacked by a severe illness, during which he needed all the friendly attentions which were liberally bestowed upon him by his new landlady. The contrast between her conduct and that of his former hostess, was so striking, and produced such lively feelings of gratitude on his part, that on his recovery, he offered her his hand in marriage. The lady, being twice as old as he, could hardly believe him to be serious in his proposal; and when he succeeded in convincing her that he was quite in earnest, she made many remonstrances against so unequal a match. Her grateful lodger was however firm in his purpose, and the marriage took place when he was in his twenty-fifth year.

With his accustomed disinterestedness, he settled the whole of his wife's little property upon her sister, not wishing to derive any advantage from this marriage, but that of the society of an amiable, sensible, and pious woman. Strange as this union was considered by the friends of both parties, it appeared to promote the happiness of those most nearly concerned. Mr. Howard always spoke as if he were perfectly satisfied

with the choice he had made, and when, two years afterwards, the tie was broken by the death of Mrs. Howard, he was a sincere mourner. So much indeed did he feel his loss, that it affected his health, and he was advised to make an excursion on the continent of Europe, in order to divert his mind from melancholy thoughts.

Soon after the funeral of his wife, Mr. Howard broke up his establishment at Stoke Newington, and having packed up such articles as he wished to retain, he gave away all the rest of his furniture among the poorer house-keepers in his neighbourhood.

The old gardener, already mentioned, "gratefully remembered to the day of his death, that upon this occasion, he had for his *dividend*, as he used to call it, a bedstead and bedding complete, a table, half a dozen chairs, and a new scythe, besides receiving a guinea for a single day's work."

CHAPTER II.

**MR. HOWARD'S ATTEMPT TO VISIT PORTUGAL —
HIS CAPTIVITY — HE RETURNS TO ENGLAND —
SETTLES AT CARDINGTON — HIS SECOND MAR-
RIAGE — IMPROVEMENTS AT CARDINGTON —
BIRTH OF A SON — DEATH OF HIS WIFE. — 1755
— 1765.**

I DARE say most of my young readers have heard of the dreadful earthquake at Lisbon, which in a few minutes destroyed sixty thousand persons, and by far the greater part of the city. It occurred on the first of November, 1755, a short time before Mr. Howard made his second visit to the continent of Europe. The shocks of this earthquake were felt in England, as well as in many countries, still more distant from Spain and Portugal. The accounts of its extraordinary ravages at Lisbon, excited a strong curiosity in many people to view the ruins of that city, and determined Mr. Howard, who was going abroad without any particular object but the benefit of his health, to turn his steps that way. Accordingly he embarked on board a Lisbon packet; but instead of reaching its destined port, the vessel was captured by a French privateer.

When two nations are at war, as the English and French then were, it is customary for each government to allow merchant vessels to arm themselves and capture the enemy's vessels. The property thus taken is, of course, lost to the owners for ever, and divided among the captors; but the persons so taken, are considered as prisoners of war; they are entitled to be well treated, and only deprived of their liberty, until an exchange of prisoners can be negotiated between the two contending nations. So far however were the English sailors and passengers, captured on board the Lisbon packet, from receiving the treatment proper to prisoners of war, that their privations and sufferings were too bad for felons. They were carried into Brest, and there lodged in the filthy dungeon of an old castle that was used as a prison, with only a little straw to protect them from the damp floor. After being kept forty hours without any food, a piece of mutton was at last thrown in to them, but without a knife, or plate, or any decent means of dividing it. In this wretched situation, they all remained nearly a week. Then Mr. Howard was removed to a prison at Carpaix, where he soon made the gaoler his friend, and inspired him with so much respect and confidence, that on giving his

word of honor, that he would not attempt to escape, he was allowed to live where he pleased in the town. This is a privilege* always granted to officers of the army and navy, when made prisoners of war, but not extended to private individuals.

There was something in Mr. Howard's manner and appearance which won the confidence even of strangers; and the person in whose house he boarded and lodged, at Carpaix, was so convinced of his integrity, that he supplied him with money and clothes, and maintained him during his stay, upon the simple promise of his guest, that he would repay him whenever he returned home, or could receive remittances from England. After two months thus spent, Mr. Howard obtained leave from the French authorities, to visit England, and try if he could negotiate with his own government, an exchange of himself for some French officer, captured by the English.

On his arrival in his native land, his friends hastened to wish him joy on the recovery of his freedom; but he begged them to suspend their

* It is called being "upon parole," from the French expression, *parole d'honneur*, or "word of honor."

congratulations, as he might yet be obliged to return to captivity. It was not usual for an exchange to be made with a private individual like himself, and therefore he had many fears that his negotiation would fail, in which case he would, of course, return to France, and submit to a further loss of liberty. This trial, he was happily spared; the British ministry agreed to the exchange, and Howard was once more a free man in his own country.

As soon as he was out of danger himself, he used every effort to procure relief for his suffering countrymen who were still in captivity. Whilst at Carpaix, he had corresponded with the prisoners of war at Brest, Morlaix, and Dinnan, and learned that they were very cruelly treated, that many hundreds had died from ill usage, and that thirty-six English sailors had been buried in a hole, at Dinnan, in one day. These accounts, together with what he had himself seen and felt of the barbarous treatment of prisoners, induced him to make such a strong representation of the case to the proper authorities in England, that they not only thanked him for his information, but set to work immediately, and in good earnest, to remove the grievance. Such arrangements were made with the French government,

that Mr. Howard's benevolent heart was soon made glad by hearing, that all the prisoners, whose situation he had described, were restored to their own country.

It was this slight experience of the captive's misery, which first interested Mr. Howard in that class of sufferers, and which enabled him to sympathize with them, when other circumstances again turned his attention to the subject ; but it was not till many years afterwards, that it became the chief business of his life, to mitigate the sufferings of all sorts of prisoners.

After his unfortunate attempt to visit Portugal, Mr. Howard gave up the idea of travelling abroad. Not wishing to return to Newington to live, he determined to go to Cardington, and give some personal attention to the improvement of the estate which he owned there. This he soon enlarged by the purchase of an adjoining farm which extended to the middle of the village, and had a house on it, which by a little alteration, was made sufficiently convenient for a single gentleman. It was not however till after his second marriage, that he made it the beautiful place which we shall have occasion hereafter to describe.

Mr. Howard's estate, exclusive of his house and grounds, was divided into several farms and let to different persons; and these tenants found him one of the best of landlords. He did not look after his own interests, by exacting all he could from those under him; but on the contrary, the closer he looked into his own affairs, the more he did for the comfort and real good of his tenants. The poor too of the neighbourhood, had reason to bless the day that he came to live at Cardington; for his purse was always open to relieve their wants, and his good advice and judicious assistance often put them in a way of providing for themselves, which is a much greater kindness than merely giving alms. Having sufficient property to live at his ease, he made it his business to use it for the good of others. He considered the possession of wealth as a stewardship, of which he must render to his Master an exact account.

His principal amusement, at this time, was making meteorological observations. He kept a register of the weather, and was interested in every thing connected with the atmosphere, such as meteors, the aurora borealis, &c. He even wrote some papers upon these subjects, that were read before the Royal Society of London, of which he

was elected a member. This honor, he chiefly valued on account of the opportunity thus afforded him of becoming acquainted with scientific men, whose company was agreeable and instructive.

Having now a fixed residence, a pleasant home, and a settled way of life, Mr. Howard was inclined to seek for a partner, who would be at once a congenial friend, and a true helpmate, in the important duties of life. In the daughter of Mr. Leeds, a gentleman of fortune and one of the king's sergeants at law, he was happy enough to find all those qualities united, which he most valued. A mutual attachment grew up between them, and the amiable and accomplished Henrietta Leeds was married to John Howard, on the 25th of April 1750.

Though this lady had been educated among luxurious and fashionable people, and had been taught to make an appearance suited to her father's stile of living, she had no fondness for costly apparel, or a showy mode of life; and on marrying a man whose simple habits were equally the result of taste and principle, she cheerfully conformed to them. When she was brought home, as a bride, to her husband's residence at Cardington, she found it fitted up for her reception with the greatest neatness and simplicity.

In the household linen, she had a fresh proof of her husband's disposition ; for most of it was spun and woven by the poor of the neighbourhood, who needed the employment. Well knowing that jewelry would add nothing, even to her personal comeliness, in the eyes of such a husband, she soon disposed of all she had brought with her, and put the proceeds into her charity purse.

Mrs. Howard cordially coöperated with her husband in all his benevolent labors, visiting the sick, inquiring personally into the wants of her poor neighbours, and relieving them with a liberal hand. She understood also the importance of encouraging industry, and therefore she continued adding to the stock of home-spun linen which she found in the house. Her love and respect for her husband was so great, that his slightest wish was a law to her ; and whenever they differed in opinion, it was as much her pleasure as it was her duty, to yield the point to him. We can easily imagine how highly Mr. Howard would prize such a partner, and indeed all their friends bear testimony to the pure and exalted happiness which they enjoyed, during the short period that they were permitted to live together on earth.

They had not been long married, when the delicate state of Mrs. Howard's health, induced

her husband to try the milder air of the New Forest, Hampshire. There he purchased a house and small estate, called Watcombe, and made it his home for three or four years. All that is known of him in this pleasant retreat, is that he contrived to live, in perfect security and harmony, among a set of people, against whom his predecessor in the house thought it necessary to use spring-guns, and men-traps, and all such means of defence. He went among them, in a spirit of peace and love, and this produced a similar spirit in them; he was soon known to be the friend of the poor, and their gratitude and love were his best and only protection.

Not finding the change of air so beneficial as they had hoped, Mr. and Mrs. Howard returned to their favorite residence at Cardington. Though they had taken the greatest care that their tenants and dependents, in Bedfordshire, should not suffer from their absence, and Mr. Howard had been remarkably attentive to the wants of his old nurse, who died in the interval, their return was hailed as a joyful event by the whole neighbourhood; and from this period, his house at Cardington was his fixed place of abode. It was a heavy old-fashioned building, and rather too small for a married man; so on his return he added sev-

eral rooms to it, adorned the front with lattice-work, took out the heavy old stone casements and put in simple cottage windows, which gave the house a lighter and more modern appearance. In all these alterations, as well as in laying out the pleasure grounds, Mr. Howard was greatly assisted by the good taste of his wife.

A field of three acres, which adjoined the house, was, by their joint skill, so laid out in lawns, walks, and shrubberies, as to appear much more extensive than it really was ; and that least sightly, though most useful part of a garden where esculent vegetables are raised, called in England the kitchen-garden, was placed in the centre of the grounds, and so contrived as to be completely hidden by surrounding shrubbery, except where small arched openings were left among the green boughs, as places of entrance to the garden. There was no other fence but the shrubs, and no gates or barriers at these openings. Between this shrubbery and the house, was a neat lawn, and a broad gravel walk surrounded the whole. This walk was planted, on each side, with various kinds of forest trees and ever-green shrubs. One part of it was bordered by fir trees that grew to a majestic size, during Mr. Howard's life ; and made a deeply shaded walk that he was very fond of.

At the farthest end of this pleasure ground, Mr. Howard built a sort of rustic summer-house, very common in England, and called sometimes a hermitage, but more frequently a root-house, from the roots of trees being used occasionally in their construction. The walls were chiefly composed of the stems and branches of trees with the bark on them, and the roof was thatched with straw. The openings left for the door and windows were formed into pointed, or Gothic, arches by crossing the branches over them. A rudely constructed fire-place, glazed windows, and a book-case showed that the owner intended to use this retreat as a place of reading and meditation at all seasons of the year. The inside of this building was as rough as the outside, being without any ceiling or plaistering on the walls; bark and moss were the only hangings. The principal seats were rude benches covered with matting, others were formed of curious masses of peat, cut out of a peat-moss near Cardington. A large stone slab served the purpose of a table, and upon it stood the figure of a nun carved in marble, a wooden model of one of the public buildings Mr. Howard had seen abroad, and an hour-glass. At the back of this hermitage was a cold bath which was used by the owner every

morning, summer and winter. The root-house then served the purpose of a dressing-room, and by merely opening a door at the back of it, he could plunge directly into the water. A well worn Bible, with other books of a serious character and some of the best English classics, filled the book-case of this apartment ; and the value Mr. Howard attached to such reading and to quiet meditation was shown by the constant use he made of his hermitage whenever he was at Cardington, as well as by the inscriptions within the building.

The planning and laying out of these grounds were a source of much innocent pleasure to the owners ; and as Mr. Howard labored with his own hands in executing the work, the bodily exercise was useful to his health. Of all outdoor amusements, gardening is perhaps the best. Like other simple and natural pleasures, it increases with the use, and is equally favorable to mind and body. This benevolent couple did not confine their taste to the embellishment of their own grounds ; they built several very neat and pretty cottages, with kitchen-gardens behind them and flower-gardens in front ; these were let to poor people at a very moderate rent, upon condition of their being kept in good order. Once,

when Mr. Howard was settling his accounts, at the close of the year, he found a balance in his favor, and offered to use it in any way that would most gratify his wife, proposing at the same time a journey to London as something that would be agreeable to her. "What a pretty little cottage it would build!" was her reply; and the money was accordingly disposed of for that purpose.

In this rational and happy way, did this truly united pair spend their days; using their wealth, their time, and their abilities for the good of all around them; making their own happiness to consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and walking humbly.

About three years had thus passed rapidly away since their return to Cardington, when their hearts were filled with joy and gratitude by the prospect of a new and untasted blessing, that of becoming parents. But alas! that blessing was dearly purchased. The birth of the child occasioned the death of the mother! Mr. Howard had scarcely felt the novel and interesting relation of father to the little stranger, when his joy was turned to mourning, by the loss of that beloved partner who had been to him all that the fondest heart could desire.

Mrs. Howard had the same religious views* with her husband, and like him cherished that strong sentiment of piety in her heart, which makes duty and inclination the same, and renders this small portion of our existence spent on earth, a scene of preparation and education for that part of it which is to be spent beyond the grave. To that higher stage of existence, this excellent woman now passed.

Her remains were interred in Cardington church, and a tablet was erected to her memory, by her mourning husband, with this simple but expressive inscription on it.

In hope of a resurrection to eternal life
Through the mercy of God by Jesus Christ,
Rests the mortal part of
HENRIETTA HOWARD,
Daughter of Edward Leeds, Esq.
Of Croxton in Cambridgeshire,
Who died the 31st of March 1765, aged 39.

*She opened her mouth with
Wisdom,
And in her tongue was the law of kindness.
Prov. xxxi, 26.*

* Those of moderate Calvinism.

CHAPTER III.

MR. HOWARD'S SITUATION — HE MAKES AN EXCURSION TO HOLLAND — ANECDOTES OF HIS CHILD — HE GOES ABROAD AGAIN — LETTER WRITTEN AT ROME — RETURN TO ENGLAND — 1765 — 1770.

It would be useless, if it were possible, to describe the sorrow of such a man as Howard, for the loss of a wife so deservedly dear. It is not to be expected that the juvenile readers of these pages can sympathize in such grief. It is to be hoped that their young hearts are so unacquainted with sorrow, that they cannot even imagine the situation of Mr. Howard at this time. We will therefore turn from him to the contemplation of the motherless babe, for whom we must ask the sympathy of the youngest and gayest of our readers. All who have experienced the blessing of a mother's love, and a mother's care, can feel for those who are deprived of this tender and watchful friend. But it is not in the earliest stages of infancy, that this loss is most felt; a good nurse may then, in a great measure, supply the place of a mother. It is all through

childhood, when the intellect and the affections are expanding, that we must feel for the motherless child ; and when we read of little Howard, playing about his father's house and garden, we must feel how many privations grow out of that one great loss, the loss of a mother. What a blank does a house present, over which no lady presides, a parlour where no female influence reigns, a nursery where no mother appears with gentle sway to cheer and soothe the little troubles of childhood !

Mr. Howard endeavoured to be, to his motherless babe, all that a father can be ; but the province of each parent is distinct, and one cannot fill the place of both. Happy are those children, who, being deprived by death of the benefits of the maternal relation, have the place supplied by their father's judicious choice of a second partner, or who possess female relatives willing to undertake the difficult task of supplying as far as possible a mother's loss.

The shock which Mr. Howard's feelings had sustained made such inroads on his health, that he was persuaded by his brother-in-law, Mr. Edward Leeds, to try the effect of a change of scene, and that gentleman accompanied him in an excursion of a month into Holland. He had previ-

ously succeeded in procuring an excellent and pious woman, to superintend his domestic concerns, and to watch over his infant; and she proved in all respects worthy of the confidence reposed in her. He felt that he could better leave his precious charge at this early age, than later; but he could not be prevailed upon to prolong his absence beyond a few weeks, after which he returned to watch over this dearest memorial of his beloved Henrietta.

Children thus left to a widowed father's care, are naturally objects of peculiar tenderness, and too often suffer from over indulgence; but in his conduct towards his child, as in all other things, Mr. Howard was governed by a sense of duty rather than by his natural feelings, and though his manners were extremely gentle, he failed not to render his child obedient even in its infancy. He considered young children as having strong passions and desires, without experience or reason to control them, and therefore placed by a kind and wise Providence under the guidance of grown persons, and made the most helpless of all young creatures, that they may be made the most subject to authority. As strict obedience is therefore the first virtue in a child, the earlier a habit of obedience is formed the better. Children who are

in the habit of obeying their parents and guardians, do it easily and naturally and are not made unhappy by it. It is the struggle between obedience and disobedience, and the consciousness of doing wrong, that produce fretfulness and unhappiness. The most obedient children are generally the most cheerful, and fit to enjoy the most privileges. With these views, Mr. Howard considered it a duty he owed his child, to make him obedient, even when a baby in arms. He early taught him not to cry for what he could not have, and the method he used was this. The first time he observed the infant to be crying violently, and that the nurse could not pacify him, he took him gently from her arms, and laid him down in his own lap, till tired of crying the child became quiet. This mode of treatment, repeated a few times, had such an effect, that, when crying ever so violently, he would always stop as soon as his father took him. By this calm and steady treatment, he was trained, without any blows or harsh words, to such a habit of obedience, that his father said he had no doubt the child would put his finger in the fire, if he desired him to do so. His fond father however was far from exacting any severe proof of his docility; his commands were always given for the good of the

child; and not to exercise his own authority. When old enough to walk in the garden, little John was sometimes told to sit down on the grass, and wait quietly, whilst his father went elsewhere and returned. This was done to keep him out of some danger or mischief, and on such occasions he was always sure to be found sitting very contentedly, and waiting for permission to get up. Mr. Howard's commands being given in a gentle and often in a playful manner, they were cheerfully complied with. Once, however, by an accidental forgetfulness, he put the child to a trial of patience which he little intended. The circumstance was related by Mr. Howard to his old friend and pastor, at Stoke Newington, and is, in substance, as follows.

Being in the habit of walking in the garden with his child, whilst the servants were at dinner, he had one day rambled with him as far as the hermitage; there he was playing with the child and enjoying his little antics, when a servant came in great haste, to tell him that a gentleman on horseback was at the door, and begged to speak with him immediately on business of importance. Wishing to answer this summons, as quickly as possible, Mr. Howard said to his son, 'Jack, be a good boy and keep quiet, and I shall come back

to you again very soon. So saying he locked the door, to prevent the child from wandering about that part of the grounds where the cold bath was; and putting the key in his pocket, he hastened to the person waiting for him. The conversation between these gentlemen lasted longer than Mr. Howard expected, and put the child entirely out of his mind. After the visitor was gone, he asked the servant where Jack was, and received for answer, that he supposed him to be in the root-house, where he had been left. Recollecting now how long the poor child had been shut up there, his father hastened to set him at liberty. On opening the door he found his little prisoner fast asleep on the matted bench where he had left him. When the child awoke, Mr. Howard's anxiety was relieved by finding, that the confinement had made no unpleasant impression on the little fellow's feelings; but he blamed himself very much for his absence of mind, and as he carried the child back to the house in his arms, he told him in his most affectionate manner how sorry he was that he had forgotten him.

As soon as Jack was old enough to sit in a chaise, his father used to take him with him to visit his friends in Bedford, and always carried his playthings with him, that he might have the

means of amusement when he arrived. He was early furnished with gardening-tools, wheelbarrows, and carts, suited to his size and strength, and he would often amuse himself, for hours together, with carting dried leaves from the garden into the parlour, where his father was sitting; and that father never seemed so happy as when his son was near him. Having taught him implicit obedience, Mr. Howard could have him much more with him, and give him many more pleasures than he could otherwise have done.

Fond as Mr. Howard was of this only child, and tempted as he must often have been to indulge him unwisely, he so regulated his feelings as to consult, in all things, the real good of his son, rather than any present convenience or gratification. With this view, little John's diet was made very simple, and his stomach never overloaded, or his palate stimulated, by rich or highly seasoned food; neither was he suffered to eat those cakes and sweetmeats, with which injudicious friends are too apt to stuff their little guests, to the great injury of their digestion, their teeth, and their tempers.

From the time his son was three years and a half old, Mr. Howard always took him with him to meeting. When standing up in prayer, the child

standing on the seat beside him, he would put his arm around his waist, as if to include him in his devotional exercises, while the unconscious little fellow would stroke his father's shoulder, or play with his buttons, without disturbing him.

Well knowing that children receive strong impressions of truth and duty, at a very early age, this careful parent guarded his child from all associates, but such as were right-minded and would set him good examples even in trifles ; and whilst, on this account, he might well avoid carrying him to the houses of some of his rich and powerful neighbours, he allowed him to associate freely with the children of John Prole, who had been his coachman as long as his wife lived, and was now his bailiff. This man had married Mrs. Howard's waiting-woman, and they were both excellent, pious people. As John Prole was always Mr. Howard's confidential man at Cardington, we shall have frequent occasion to mention him, in the course of this narrative.

With the exception of a few short absences from home, for the benefit of his health, Mr. Howard spent the first years of his second widowhood at Cardington, carrying on his works of benevolence in the neighbourhood, and watching over the infancy of his child. When, however, little

John had nearly completed his fifth year, his father began to think of sending him to school; and as it was not the custom of that country, to have day-schools for gentlemen's children, this step involved a removal of the child from his father's roof to that of a boarding-school. The defective education of Mr. Howard made him consider it necessary to put his child into other hands than his own, as soon as he should be old enough to begin learning from books; had this been otherwise, it is very probable that the state of Mr. Howard's health and spirits would have rendered him unfit for the arduous task of teaching a young child to read and write. Be that as it may, he thought it best to send Jack away, and, fearing to expose his tender charge to the rough buffeting of a boy's school, he placed him at one for girls, kept by a very worthy woman, at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, where it is believed that all proper care was taken of him, though the management was probably very different from that of his judicious father; and when we are told that this fair bud kept not the promise of these early days, we cannot help wishing that the fostering care of that devoted parent had been longer continued to it.

By placing his son at school, Mr. Howard deprived himself of the most cheering influence

which remained to him at Cardington; but he considered it to be for the child's good, and endeavoured to reconcile himself to the loss of his endearing society, his innocent prattle. It was a severe trial; his home seemed now doubly desolate, and his health and spirits were so much affected, that it became absolutely necessary for him to change the scene. Accordingly he made his preparations for a long absence from England, and resolved to set out, as soon as possible, on an extensive tour through France, Switzerland, and Italy.

There was a lad in his service, named Thomasson, who had been hired when little John began to run alone, on purpose to watch his infant steps, and see that when playing out of doors, he ran into no danger, and did no mischief; this service had endeared him to his employer, and as the lad had a strong desire to travel, and see the wonders of foreign lands, Mr. Howard applied to his parents for leave to take him abroad. This was refused; and though Mr. Howard explained to them the advantage there would be, in letting their son see the world under his guardianship, and the boy begged very hard to be allowed to go, the mistaken fondness of the parents, made them resist all remonstrance and persuasion. Thomasson accompanied Mr. Howard as far as

London, and there he besought him to take him with him, without his parents' consent; but this his employer would of course not do, and the lad was sent back to Cardington, with leave to reside there and work in the garden. John Prole and his wife were left in charge of the establishment, and lived in the house during its master's absence.

Mr. Howard set out alone upon his foreign tour, crossed the Channel from Dover to Calais, and proceeded through France to Geneva, where he spent a few weeks, and then passed over the Alps into Italy. His intention was to spend the winter in Rome or Naples; but whilst engaged in seeing the curiosities of art and nature in the cities of Milan and Turin, and the intervening country, he was so distressed at the gross ignorance and superstition of the people, and so longed for the privilege of social worship with his Protestant brethren at home, that these feelings, together with the thought that some of his tenants or poor neighbours might suffer the want of that assistance, he was accustomed to give them in the winter, determined him to re-cross the Alps and go back to Geneva on his way home. Writing to his friend and minister at Bedford, the Rev. J. Symonds, he says, speaking of Italy, "The luxury and wickedness of the inhabitants would ever

give a thinking mind pain, amidst the richest country, abounding with the noblest productions of human power and skill. I was seven days recrossing the Alps; the weather was very cold, eleven degrees below the freezing-point. The quick descent by sledges, on the snow, and other particulars may perhaps afford a little entertainment some winter's evening."

On reaching Paris however, he again changed his plans; and instead of returning home, he travelled into Holland, which was always a favorite country of his; he calls it the only one, except his own, where propriety and elegance are united; but what he chiefly esteemed it for was its religious liberty. From the various towns of Holland which he visited, he could have easy and frequent communication with his friends in England, and provide by letter for the comfort of the poor people of Cardington, who were ever near his heart, even in a foreign land. It is probable that his correspondents urged him to prosecute his journey; for his health and spirits were so low, that his friends must have dreaded the effects of his returning to a home where every thing would so forcibly remind him of the loss of his ever lamented wife.

In the spring of 1770, we find him again setting out for Italy; and this time he really got as far as Rome and Naples, and appears to have benefited by the new scenes through which he passed. The following is an extract from a letter to his friend, the Rev. J. Symonds, written from Rome.

“Since I left Holland, and through all the southern part of France, and over the Apennine mountains into Italy, I travelled not a mile with any of our countrymen. Those mountains are three or four days in passing; for many, many miles there is hardly a three-foot road, with precipices into the sea, I should guess three times the height of St. Paul’s cathedral; but the mules are so sure-footed that there is nothing to fear, though the road is also very bad. Through the mercy and goodness of God, I travel pleasantly on. I have an easy, calm flow of spirits. A little tea equipage I carry with me, with which I regale myself, and little regard if I have nothing else.

“Florence being the seat of the arts, I visited the famous gallery many days. Thence I travelled to this renowned city. The amazing ruins of temples, palaces, aqueducts, &c., give one some faint idea of its ancient grandeur; but comparatively now a desert. The description of them, as

also of St. Peter's church and the Vatican, I must defer till I have the pleasure of seeing you. The Pope passed very close by me yesterday ; he waved his hand to bless me. I bowed ; but not kneeling, some of the Cardinals were displeased. But I never can nor will to any human creature or invention, as I should tremble at the thought of the adoration I have seen paid to him. My temper is too open for this country ; yet an important piece of news of this court that I now know, I durst not commit to writing. That cruellest of all inventions, the Inquisition, stops all mouths.

“ I set out to-morrow for Naples. As I return to see the great procession here on the 15th of June, I intend staying about a fortnight. Afterwards I am bound for Loretto, Ancona, Bologna, and Venice ; at which last place it will be a great pleasure to receive a line from you. My thoughts are often with my Bedford friends, and as they know it is the Divine presence and favor that make every place happy and comfortable, my most grateful acknowledgments for any interest I have had in their sacred moments.”

Whilst in Naples, he, like other travellers, ascended Mount Vesuvius ; and his former meteorological pursuits gave an additional interest to the

expedition ; for he was desirous of ascertaining the degree of heat on the summit of the mountain, and even within the mouth of the volcano. To do this, he was obliged to descend a little way into the crater, and by laying himself down upon the hardened masses of lava, the heat of which he could just endure, he was able to observe the rise of the quicksilver in the thermometer, which he thrust into the interstices, and so immersed it in the liquid lava. The result of these observations he communicated to the Royal Society on his return to England.

It does not appear that Mr. Howard kept a regular journal at this time ; but he made notes and memorandums, by which we learn the serious cast of his mind, during his travels, and that at Naples he made what used to be called, among the good old Puritans, ‘ a solemn covenant with God ’ ; that is, he wrote down under very solemn feelings, his resolution to devote himself and all that he possessed to the service of God, and signed it, as he would an agreement between himself and a fellow man. In many parts of his notes he expresses his earnest hope, that he might be made wiser and better by his travels ; and all that he witnessed of the pomp and ceremonies and superstitious observances of the Roman Catholic re-

ligion, made him value still more highly the simple communion of his soul with God.

How long he continued in Italy, we do not know ; but the last Sabbath that he spent abroad was at Rotterdam, September 2d, 1770 ; and there he made the following memorandum.

“ A review of the temper of my mind on probably the last Sabbath before I return to my happy, native country.

“ I desire, with profound veneration, to bless and praise God for his merciful preservation of me in my long journey. No danger, no accident has befallen me, but I am among the living, I trust ever to praise God ; and as to my soul, among all its weaknesses and folly, it has not, I have some hope, lost ground this year of travelling. I am very desirous of returning with a right spirit, not only wiser but better ; with a more cheerful humility, a more general love and benevolence to my fellow creatures ; watchful of my thoughts, my words, my actions, resigned to the will of God, that I may walk with God, and lead a more useful and honorable life in this world.”

How truly he became what he so sincerely desired to be, we shall have ample proof in the following pages.

CHAPTER IV.

**SEVERE ILLNESS OF MR. HOWARD — HE VISITS
THE POOR — HIS MODE OF LIFE — HIS CONDUCT
DURING A SCHISM — HE IS MADE HIGH SHERIFF
— 1770 — 1773.**

By the written directions of Mr. Howard, his servant lad Thomasson met him in London, and attended him home to Cardington. Agreeable as it must have been to him to be once more among his friends and attached tenants, his return to that home, the chief ornament and delight of which was gone for ever, brought back so many affecting recollections, and so lowered his spirits, that his health soon began to suffer, and he found it necessary again to change the scene. So taking Thomasson with him, he travelled into the West of England, through South Wales, crossed over to Ireland, visited its southern counties, and returned to the Hot-wells near Bristol. The very day after he reached this place, he was attacked by the gout, and had a severe fit of it, which confined him to his room for six months. During this long illness, Thomasson attended upon Mr. Howard with the 'most watchful and unwearied

assiduity. Though during the height of his disorder, the sufferer could ill bear to be waited upon by any one else, he would often express his fear that the lad would be hurt by such close attendance upon his sick bed. Thomasson however was young and strong, and did not suffer from the exertions he made. For these he was doubtless well rewarded in a pecuniary way, besides being, from this time, always treated by his employer with peculiar kindness and confidence.

As soon as our invalid was able to travel, he returned to Cardington, the low, marshy situation of which was not favorable to his health. He was attacked by the prevalent disorder of the place, fever and ague, from which he was never free for nine months. During this period of bodily infirmity, his active mind was still employed for the good of others. Knowing how much his poor neighbours suffered from fever and ague, and thinking it might be in some degree prevented by their living in drier and better houses, he pulled down several cottages on his own estate, and rebuilt them with a particular view to the health of their inhabitants. Others, which he did not own, he purchased and rebuilt, in such a manner as might best defend them from the dampness of the soil. All these cottages, built by the philanthro-

pist, were remarkable for their neatness, simplicity, and convenience; and though purposely varied in their external forms, they were all warmly thatched, and had nice white-washed fronts. Each had a piece of garden-ground, large enough to supply the occupiers with vegetables, and most of them had an enclosure in front, fenced off from the road by a neat white paling, and containing flowers and shrubs.

“These comfortable habitations,” says one of his biographers, “he peopled with the most industrious and sober tenants he could find; and over them he exercised the superintendence of master and father combined. He was careful to furnish them with employment, to assist them in sickness and distress, and to educate their children. In order to preserve their morals, he made it a condition that they should regularly attend their several places of worship, and abstain from public houses and from such amusements as he thought pernicious; and he secured their compliance with his rules by making them tenants at will.” These cottages were so comfortable and let at such a moderate rent, that there was scarcely a poor person in the village who was not desirous of living in one of them.

Mr. Howard understood the importance of visiting the poor at their own homes, and becoming personally acquainted with them ; and though his feeble state of health might well have excused him, he was always in the habit of calling on his poor neighbours, and might frequently be seen sitting by the cottage hearth, discoursing with those around it in the most familiar and friendly manner. The children of the village loved to meet him ; for they always had a kind look or word from their benefactor, and frequently a few pence, accompanied by an admonition to keep their hands and faces clean and be good children. He not only gave away all the milk of his dairy that was not needed in his own family, but sent it round to the poor, that they might not lose their time in going for it. A friend of his, who knew him well, says, " His charity had no bounds except those of prudence ; and was not more commendable for the extent of it, than for the manner in which it was exercised. He hardly ever took one of his daily rides in the neighbourhood without enjoying the delightful satisfaction on his return, of having contributed to the relief, the welfare, or the consolation of a fellow creature ; for whilst living in this retirement, it was his meat and drink to make his neighbours happy."

Whilst his unwearied kindness to the poor caused him to be greatly loved by them, he was no less respected by the rich and powerful. He was on visiting terms with most of the country gentlemen around him, and received his friends in a genteel and hospitable manner; but he thought it inconsistent with a right use of his property, to make costly entertainments.

His own diet was very simple; and though he had not yet entirely given up animal food, he used it very sparingly. Wine, spirits, and fermented liquors of every kind, he wholly renounced, when he had the gout, and never afterwards could be persuaded to touch them, even as medicines.

He was at all times remarkably neat in his dress, and kept a wise medium between singularity and a foolish conformity to every change of fashion. His deportment was naturally dignified, but his great benevolence rendered his manner kind and conciliating. In the distribution of his time, he was very exact; in all his engagements with others he was punctual himself, and expected others to be so too.

When not confined to the house by ill health, he was a regular attendant on public worship, and was a member of a church of dissenters at Bedford, of which the Rev. J. Symonds was the minister.

This was three miles from Cardington, and he used to walk there, attend both morning and afternoon service, and then walk home, because he would not employ his domestics unnecessarily on the Sabbath. He built a house near the meeting-house which he allowed a family to live in, rent free, upon condition that he should have the use of the parlour between the services on Sunday, and that some slight refreshment should be prepared for him. We see by these arrangements how much he valued the privilege of social worship with his Christian brethren; and in his letters and journals, during his numerous and long absences in foreign countries, there is no deprivation which he so much laments as the loss of the Sabbath services to which he had been accustomed.

The meeting-house in which he worshiped was the same that the famous John Bunyan (author of "The Pilgrim's Progress") used to preach in. When it was repaired in 1770, the old pulpit was taken down, cut to pieces, and distributed among the admirers of that faithful minister, and singular writer. On this occasion, Mr. Howard not only contributed largely to the general repairs, but the new pulpit was his gift.

Two years afterwards, there was a division of opinion in this church on the subject of baptism.

The Rev. J. Symonds declared to his people that his views were altered, he could no longer practise infant baptism, he must in future administer that rite only to grown persons, and in the way of immersion. More than half his congregation were of the same mind with their minister; so he remained at the old meeting-house, and those who continued to approve of infant baptism, among whom was our friend Howard, separated themselves and built another meeting-house. In this secession, as it is called, Mr. Howard took a leading part; but he behaved throughout with so much moderation, Christian tenderness, and delicacy towards the feelings of those who differed from him, that he retained the love and respect of the minister and people from whom he separated, and the intimate friendship which subsisted between him and Mr. Symonds was never for a moment interrupted by it. He gave, at different times, towards the building of the new meeting-house two thousand dollars, besides again making a donation of a pulpit. But what is a still more striking proof of his liberality, he always continued to contribute his share towards the support of the meeting he had left, and gave the same sum annually to the poor belonging to it.

The Rev. Thomas Smith became pastor of the new church. Upon his ministry Mr. Howard always attended, when residing at Cardington; and when absent, that gentleman was one of his correspondents.

Mr. Howard's practice of walking to Bedford, every Sunday morning, was so well known, that an idle and abandoned man, whom he had often reproved for his vices, and warned against his evil courses, resolved to take advantage of the good man's solitary walk, in order to waylay and murder him. "But Providence," says one of his friends, "remarkably interposed to preserve so valuable a life, by inclining him that morning to go on horseback by a different road." What became of the unhappy man who planned the attack, or how his intentions came to be known, we are not informed.

In 1772 Mr. Howard made a short tour through Guernsey, Jersey, and the other smaller English islands in the Channel, and a part of the following winter he spent with his friends in London; but, with these exceptions, his days were passed in the retirement of Cardington.

The time however was now approaching, when his ripened virtues were to be called to a wider field of action. He was chosen in 1773 to the

honorable and responsible situation of high sheriff of the county of Bedford; it was in the scrupulous performance of the duties of this office, that he became acquainted with the abuses existing in the county gaol under his jurisdiction, and had his attention so powerfully directed to the subject, that it was ever afterwards the chief business of his life, to mitigate the sufferings of prisoners, and be the friend of those who had no friend.

It is common in England for the office of sheriff to be held by some rich and conspicuous person in the county, who takes all the honor and agreeable duties of the situation, and who pays an under sheriff for doing all the drudgery. Such a high sheriff will always be seen, when the judges are coming to hold their courts in a town, parading at the head of a long retinue, and going in state to meet and escort them in. He will also play his part at all the grand dinners and parties given on such occasions; but in the case of the less agreeable duty of inspecting prisons the deputy is allowed to act. But, besides the observances required of the high sheriffs by etiquette, Mr. Howard personally investigated the state of the county gaol under his care, made himself acquainted with the defects in the con-

struction of the building, with the abuses in the management of the prisoners, and the extortions to which they were subject, and then set himself earnestly to work to procure a reform.

When we consider, to what great and important services, this beginning led, and that he afterwards lived and died a martyr to the cause of reforming Prison Discipline, this first effort in his own country becomes particularly interesting. In his preface to a large quarto volume which he afterwards wrote on the state of prisons, he thus mentions it.

“The distress of prisoners came more immediately under my notice when I was sheriff of the county of Bedford; and the circumstance which excited me to activity on their behalf, was seeing some who by the verdict of juries were declared *not guilty*, and some on whom the grand jury did not find such an appearance of guilt as subjected them to trial, and some whose prosecutors did not appear against them,” (all of whom ought to have been instantly discharged,) “dragged back to gaol where they had been confined for months, and locked up again till they should pay various *fees* to the gaoler, clerk of assize, &c. In order to redress this hardship, I applied to the justices of the county for a *salary* to the gaoler instead of

his *fees*. They were properly affected with this grievance, and willing to grant the relief desired, but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the expense. I therefore rode into several neighbouring counties in search of a precedent; but I soon learned that the same injustice was practised in them; and looking into the prisons, I beheld scenes of calamity, which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate."

Here then his great work was begun, and we shall see how diligently he prosecuted it to the end of his life.

CHAPTER V.

**STATE OF ENGLISH PRISONERS — MR. HOWARD
EXAMINED BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS —
HIS SECOND TOUR OF INSPECTION — HE IS A
CANDIDATE FOR A SEAT IN PARLIAMENT —
RESOLVES TO SEE FOREIGN PRISONS — 1773 —
1775.**

WE are at this time, and in this country, reaping the benefits of Mr. Howard's humane exertions in the cause of suffering prisoners; for all he did, and said, and wrote upon the subject, turned the attention of those concerned in building or regulating prisons to the defects and abuses pointed out by him; and led the people of this country to construct their gaols on a better plan, and to guard against the evils which were so common in English prisons, when Mr. Howard visited them.

It would be difficult to give an American reader any adequate idea of the horrible state of English prisons at that time, without entering into details too painful and offensive to be here set forth. A few particulars however, it may be well to mention; for without some knowledge of

those evils, we cannot duly appreciate the unwearied exertions of the philanthropist to remove them.

The English prisons were, for the most part, too small for the numbers they contained; they were therefore crowded, and as the windows were very few and very small, the prisoners wanted air as well as room. They were not made secure by being well built, or by having proper walls around them, or proper guards; and therefore the prisoners were loaded with irons, to prevent their making their escape. Damp, unwholesome dungeons, many feet under ground, were used as sleeping apartments, and in many places no bed-stead or bedding of any kind was allowed; not even straw was furnished; the damp earth was all the poor creatures had to lie on. Very often the prisons and yards were without any drains or sewers to carry off their moisture and filth, and without any wells or pumps within the walls; and so offensive were the cells, dungeons, and even upper apartments of such buildings, that the bad air produced a fever peculiar to prisons, and known by the name of the gaol-fever. This frequently carried off more prisoners in a year than were condemned to death by the law. It spread as rapidly as the yellow fever and was often as fatal. Such was the terror it

produced, that when it made its appearance among the wretched inhabitants of a prison, their condition was rendered worse if possible than ever, from the fear that was felt of approaching the infected rooms. Instead of allowing them more air and better attendance, instead of removing those evils which produced the fever, and thus giving them a chance of recovery, they were shut up still closer, and left to perish in their misery. Even the medical attendants, hired to take care of the health of the prisoners, were sometimes allowed to stipulate, that if the gaol-fever appeared among them, they (the medical men) should be excused from attending in the infected wards! It makes the heart sick to think of such a shocking state of things among beings that call themselves civilized.

If the safety of society requires that the hardened sinner, who cannot be kept in any other way from crime, should be deprived of his liberty, he ought to be securely confined; but even then he should be allowed to breathe a pure air, to eat wholesome food, to take necessary exercise; he should be comfortably lodged and clothed, and treated as a being capable of amendment.

But what shall we say when we learn that this ill usage of prisoners, at the time we are speaking of, was not confined to convicted felons; persons waiting to take their trial, and perhaps entirely innocent of the offence laid to their charge, were but too often exposed to the shocking treatment we have described, and sometimes died of the gaol-fever before they could be brought to trial.

Another class of unfortunate beings, who in the opinion of many ought not to be imprisoned at all, those who are unable to pay their debts, were at that time frequently shut up with the most abandoned criminals, and subjected to the miseries already described, where the gaols were not large enough to allow of their being lodged separately, or where the regulations were such, that unless the poor debtor could pay for better accommodations, he was obliged to share the felon's apartment.

It appears to have been the intention of the government that all prisoners, even condemned criminals, should have clean straw to lie upon, and good bread and water in sufficient quantity to support life; but owing to the avarice and inhumanity of those concerned in supplying them, with these necessities, they were often

very scantily furnished, and sometimes the bread was of a very bad quality. Those who were able to pay the gaoler an extravagant price for better food, could obtain it; but where the gaols were small and ill-constructed, money could not save a man before trial from being shut up at night, in a damp, unwholesome dungeon, with condemned criminals for his companions.

The hardships of such an imprisonment, must have been severely felt by those who were put in gaol to await their trial for offences, of which they were afterwards proved to be innocent; but what must be the feelings of a poor, penniless creature, who has thus suffered, and on being acquitted in court, thinks himself once more a free man, when he is told, that unless he can pay a heavy fee to the gaoler, and another to the turnkey, he must return to his loathsome dungeon! What indignation must he feel at such injustice and oppression! In what dreadful despair, must many have returned to their prison-house! This was the great, the crying evil of gaols, which first stirred up the benevolent spirit of Howard. He first began with thinking it peculiar to the gaol under his care, but, to his surprise and concern, he found it a very general custom.

This unjust and cruel demand, on the part of gaolers, had been so long allowed them, that they considered it as a right; and in many places it was a source of so much gain to them, that they received no salary from the county, but made their living by such extortions practised on the prisoners.

This slight sketch of the hidden misery of prisons, will enable the reader to understand the feelings of the philanthropist, when his duty as high sheriff first led him to inspect the gaol under his care, and then to visit those of the neighbouring counties.

He who pulled down cottages and rebuilt them, in order to make them drier and more healthy habitations for the poor, must have been pained indeed when he saw his unhappy fellow beings crowded into small, damp rooms, wanting common air to breathe, and found that they were shut up at night in dark and loathsome dungeons, ten or twenty steps below the surface of the ground.

It was well for mankind that Howard's compassion was not of that transitory sort which exhausts itself in a few expressions of pity. He was accustomed to act, as well as to feel. No suffering ever came to his knowledge, that he did

not make immediate exertions to relieve ; and no sooner did he become acquainted with the abuses in prisons, than he set himself resolutely to work to investigate them thoroughly, and to make such representations as would lead to a radical reform. To appreciate his exertions in this humane undertaking, we must bear in mind the shocking condition of many of the prisons which Mr. Howard visited, the loathsomeness of the dungeons which he perseveringly explored, the wretched victims of disease whom he saw and examined, and the frequent prevalence of the gaol-fever, which was a very malignant and infectious disorder.

It was in November, 1773, that Mr. Howard began his philanthropic tours in England ; and though he spent the Christmas holidays at home with his son, he was so industrious, in his new calling, that by the following March he had visited all the county gaols in England, and had collected an important mass of exact information respecting them. So anxious was he to be perfectly accurate in all his statements, that, in some instances, he repeated his journeys, and visited the same prisons several times, in order to be sure that he made no misstatement. He took copious notes of all he saw, and described the well-

conducted gaols as well as the ill-regulated ones, with a view to publishing a general account of English prisons. It would be tedious as well as painful, to follow Mr. Howard into the scenes of misery which he so patiently explored ; we may judge a little of them by his description of the gaol for the large county of Cornwall, situated at Launceston.

“This gaol, though built in the large green belonging to the ruinous old castle, is very small ; house and court measuring only fifty-two feet by forty-four ; and the house not covering half that ground. The prison is a room or passage twenty-three and a half feet by seven and a half, with only one window two feet by one and a half ; and three dungeons or cages on the side opposite the window ; these are about six and a half feet deep ; one nine feet long, one about eight, one not five ; this last for women. They were all very offensive. No chimney, no water, no sewers, damp earth floors, no infirmary. The court not secure, and prisoners seldom permitted to go out to it. Indeed the whole prison is out of repair, and the gaoler lives at a distance. I once found the prisoners chained two or three together. Their provision was put down to them through a hole (nine inches by eight) in the floor of the

room above (used as a chapel), and those who served them there often caught the fatal fever. At my first visit I found the keeper, his assistant, and all the prisoners but one sick of it, and heard that a few years before many prisoners had died of it; and the keeper and his wife in one night."

In this den of infection and misery one poor woman was confined three years. She was put in prison for a slight breach of an unjust law, and was continued there because she could not pay the fees demanded for her release. She was at last set at liberty by a charitable contribution.

Whilst Mr. Howard was finishing his inspection of English prisons, some of his friends, who were members of the British Parliament and knew what he was engaged about, brought forward a bill for the abolition of fees, and for better securing the health of prisoners during their confinement; and on the arrival of the philanthropist in London from his western tour, he was examined before the whole House of Commons, on the subject to which he had devoted himself with such ardor. This was a fine opportunity for serving the cause nearest his heart; and he gave such full and satisfactory answers to the questions put to him, as to the unhealthy condi-

tion of many prisons, the cause of the gaol-fever, and the best mode of removing it, that he received the thanks of the House. This is considered a great honor in England; but what delighted the benevolent heart of Howard was the certainty that the cry of the oppressed had now reached the ears of those who were able and willing to redress their wrongs.

So extraordinary did it seem to some of the members of Parliament that a gentleman should, out of pure benevolence, undertake such a disagreeable and dangerous task as that of a personal inspection of prisons, that they could hardly be made to understand the nature of his voluntary services; and one of the members asked him, in the course of his examination, at whose expense he travelled; "a question," says one of his biographers, "which Mr. Howard could scarcely answer without some indignant emotion." Two bills passed the House that session, which were the beginning of that series of improvements in the treatment of prisoners which has since been so much extended. Mr. Howard took the pains to have the new laws printed in a convenient form, and sent to the keepers of all the county gaols in England.

Much as Howard had now effected, he seemed to think that he had done nothing, whilst any thing remained to be accomplished. Accordingly, his examination before the House of Commons was no sooner finished, than he began an investigation of the manner in which the principal London prisons were conducted. Here great suffering and shameful abuses of power were brought to light.

“ Within four days after his visit to these miserable places of confinement in the metropolis, such was the ardor of his spirit, and the rapidity of his movements, we find him at the northern extremity of the kingdom, inspecting the high gaol at Durham ; which, though the property of the Bishop, as lord of the palatinate, was the abode of wretchedness and want, at the bare recital of which, the blood freezes with horror in our veins.”

In Mr. Howard's former journeys of inspection, his attention had been directed solely to county gaols ; but, in the general tour of England and Wales, which he had now commenced, new subjects of investigation presented themselves in the city and town gaols, houses of correction, &c. Of this direction of his mind he thus speaks :

“ Seeing in two or three of the *county gaols*,

some poor creatures whose aspect was singularly deplorable, and asking the cause of it, I was answered, 'they were lately brought from the *bridewells*.'* This started a fresh subject of inquiry. I resolved to inspect the *bridewells*, and for that purpose I travelled again into the counties where I had been ; and indeed into all the rest, examining *houses of correction*, *city* and *town gaols*. I beheld in many of them, as well as in the *county gaols*, a complication of distress ; but my attention was principally fixed by the *gaol-fever* and the *small-pox*, which I saw prevailing, to the destruction of multitudes, not only of felons in their dungeons, but of debtors also."

His labors were now greatly increased, and to them he devoted the spring, summer, and autumn of 1773, only allowing himself occasionally a few days of rest at Cardington, and two weeks at the Hot-wells, for the benefit of his health. Though continually exposed to the infectious air of dungeons, and frequently conversing with the victims of *gaol-fever*, he was never assailed by that dreadful malady. His earnest purpose of doing good and strong feeling for the sufferings

* Houses of correction.

of others, carried him unharmed through all danger.

Again he visited the metropolis, with a view to inspect the houses of correction and those smaller prisons which had not before come under his notice, as well as to reëxamine those which he had already seen. The houses of *correction* as they were called might, he observed, have been better named houses of *corruption*. From the prisoners not being classed according to their degrees of guilt, and kept separate, the whole was a school of iniquity ; and a young offender put in for some small offence was sure to come out prepared for deeper crimes. Not being furnished with any proper occupation, the prisoners naturally enough had recourse to all sorts of dissipation, to pass away the time. In many prisons, visitors were allowed at all times, and as much beer and ardent spirits were furnished as they and the prisoners could pay for. Cards, dice, billiards were common amusements, and wine clubs and beer clubs were formed among those who could afford to pay their share of the cost. All the London prisons were excessively crowded, so that when the poor creatures were shut up at night they had scarcely room to move, or air to breathe. In one of them, the debtor-wards were

so full, that some were obliged to sleep on broad shelves over other beds, without any bedding or even straw to keep them comfortable. In another, hammocks were slung from the ceiling, to hold those who could not find room to lie on the floor.

The thorough investigation, now made by Mr. Howard, of London prisons, carried him into small places of confinement that were hardly known to exist, except by the few concerned in their profits, and enabled him to bring to light a great deal of hidden wickedness.

After laboring almost incessantly, for nearly a year, in his painful and hazardous vocation, Mr. Howard returned to Cardington for a short respite, and was there met by fresh marks of the high esteem in which he was held in that neighbourhood.

He was urgently solicited, by a respectable body of voters in the town of Bedford, to become their candidate for a seat in Parliament, at an approaching election ; and when he found how many of his friends desired it, and that he was to represent the liberal and independent party in Bedford, he consented to stand a contested election. The opposing candidate was one of very different sentiments and character, but

warmly upheld by men in power, who wanted such members to be elected as would support them and their measures.* By great unfairness in taking the votes, Mr. Howard lost his election and his opponent was returned.

Much as this was regretted by the independent electors who earnestly desired to be represented by such a person as Howard, it was a fortunate circumstance for the public ; since the duties of a member of Parliament must have prevented the prosecution of his useful inquiries into the state of prisons, and so deprived the world of the important services he afterwards rendered.

The election was no sooner ended, than he recommenced his philanthropic tours, and continued them with little intermission through the winter. He now visited Scotland and Ireland, making the same minute investigation of prisons, in those countries, that he had done in England and Wales, and taking copious notes of all he saw. These he intended to arrange for publication in the spring of 1775 ; but it occurred to him

* Mr. Howard says in a letter to a friend, after the election was decided against him, *that the ministry knew he was opposed to their severe measures against the Americans.*

that if to this mass of information relative to the existing defects in English prisons, he could add suggestions for remedying the evils, he might do much more good. To qualify himself for this task, he thought it necessary to see with his own eyes what had been done in other enlightened nations of Europe. He therefore determined to visit France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany, for that purpose.

To resolve and to do, always came so near together with this active spirit, that in April, 1775, we hear of him visiting prisons in Paris. It was however with great difficulty that he got admission to the chief places of confinement there, on account of the strictness of the police and the jealousy of the government.

What sort of prisons he found there and how he gained an entrance, will be seen in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

**FRENCH PRISONS — LETTER FROM BRUSSELS —
 RASP AND SPIN-HOUSES IN HOLLAND — RETURN
 TO CARDINGTON — SECOND GENERAL INSPEC-
 TION OF ENGLISH PRISONS — REVIEW OF FOR-
 EIGN ONES — MR. HOWARD PUBLISHES HIS BOOK
 ON PRISONS — 1775 — 1777.**

THE principal prison in Paris, at the time of Mr. Howard's visit, was a strongly fortified old castle, called the Bastille. The numerous dark dungeons, iron cages, and solitary cells were the terror of Frenchmen ; and during the reigns of wicked or weak kings, they were filled with victims. This castle was surrounded by a moat, and secured by a draw-bridge ; and when its massive gates shut upon a prisoner, he was at once cut off from all communication with the world, and left at the mercy of a few rulers who had the power of life and death in their hands. The poor captive could not, as in England and in our happy country, be sure of a trial in open court and by a jury of his equals ; but there he might be left to languish out his days in solitary confinement, entirely dependent on the

will of his oppressors, and without any means of redress. The very name of the Bastille struck fear and consternation into the hearts of the French people, and Mr. Howard is probably the first person who ever attempted to pay it a voluntary visit, or who ever quitted its walls with reluctance. He thus describes his fruitless effort to enter the Bastille :

“I knocked hard at the outer gate, and immediately went forward, through the guard, to the draw-bridge before the entrance of the castle. But while I was contemplating this gloomy mansion, an officer came out much surprised ; and I was forced to retreat through the mute guard, and thus regained that freedom which for one locked up within its walls it is next to impossible to obtain.”

Howard would have found it equally impossible to gain admission to other prisons in Paris, had he not availed himself of an old law which directed gaolers to admit, to the places of confinement under their superintendence, all persons desirous of bestowing any alms on the prisoners, and to permit them to distribute their gifts with their own hands, except where the prisoner was confined in a dungeon ; in that case, the donation was to pass through the gaoler's hands, in

the donor's presence. This law was exactly suited to his purpose ; for, whilst gratifying his benevolent feelings by distributing alms, he gained admittance to every part of the prison ; and visited dungeons that he had reason to believe had rarely been seen by any other visiter. He describes them as totally dark and beyond imagination horrid ; yet in them poor creatures were confined night and day for months together. With the exception of the use made of these subterranean abodes, he found much to approve in the regulation of the French prisons. Writing of these, in a letter to a friend, he says, "They are all fresh and clean ; no gaol distemper ; no prisoners ironed ; the bread allowance far exceeds that of any of our gaols, being for each prisoner two pounds of bread a day, besides soup once a day, and on Sunday one pound of meat."

Continuing his journey through Holland, his diligent inquiries were rewarded by finding many hints and suggestions for the improvement of prison discipline in his own country. By witnessing the effect of long-tried regulations, he could judge of their usefulness ; and by making copious notes of all he saw, and collecting all the printed regulations he could obtain, he amassed materials, from which he could afterwards select

what would best meet the wants of his native land. In most of the large towns of Holland, he found two prisons for the punishment and reformation of criminals, that were complete houses of industry ; one for male convicts, called a *rasp-house*, from the chief employment being the laborious work of rasping logwood ; and one for females called a *spin-house*, from spinning being the main occupation of the women confined there. Of the spin-house at Amsterdam, Mr. Howard gives the following interesting account.

“ In this house you might see a number of criminals, some of whom had been the most abandoned, sitting in the presence of the *mother*, quiet and orderly at their different sorts of work, spinning, plain work, &c. Of the latter sort much was sent from the city. They had the same holidays as at the rasp-house. Hours of work from six to twelve, and from one to eight. I saw them go from work to dinner. The keeper, or *father*, as they called him, presided. First they sang a psalm, then they went in order down to a neat dining-room, where they seated themselves at two tables, and several dishes of boiled barley, sweetened agreeably, were set before them. The father struck with a hammer, then in profound silence all stood up, and one of

them read with propriety a prayer of four or five minutes' duration. When they sat down cheerfully, each filled her bowl from a large dish which contained enough for four of them. Then one brought, on a waiter, slices of bread and butter, and served each prisoner.

"This house was supported by a small annual tax on those who sell tobacco, beer, and other liquors, and by one fourth part of what was received at public exhibitions and diversions. Donations from visitors were kept by the mistress till they amounted to enough to buy a little tea and coffee for all to partake of.

"The children of malefactors who are executed, or who are committed for a long-term to the rasp or spin house, are sent to the orphan-house, and there brought up in industry, and not left destitute vagabonds, to become unhappy victims to the wickedness and folly of their parents.

"At the *rasp-house* (in Amsterdam) there is over the gate in *bas relief** a device of a man driving a wagon, loaded with *logwood*, drawn

* Sculpture, in which the figures do not stand out far from the background.

by lions, wild boars, and tigers, with this inscription,

Virtutis est domare

Quæ cuncti pavent.

Which may be thus translated: *It is the part of virtue to tame what all are afraid of.*

“Over this device, there is a representation of two men in chains, with a woman near them, holding in her left hand the arms of the city, and in her right a whip. Over her head is the word *Castigato*. At the inner gate (as at other rasphouses) is a representation of two men rasping logwood, which is here their principal employment. Yet regard is had not only to their degree of guilt but to their strength, for I saw two men winding silk.”

From Holland, our traveller proceeded to visit some of the gaols under the German police. It was with great difficulty that he got access to several of them; but he derived many useful hints from this part of his tour, and returned to England in July with a great budget of valuable information.

He landed at Dover, and, true to his calling, the first thing he did was to visit the town gaol there. What a painful contrast to what he had seen abroad! There he had found most of the

prisons spacious, open to the air, healthy, and secure ; the allowance to the prisoners, in general, liberal, and the salary of the gaoler his only emolument. Here, the first prison he visited on his native shores, consisted of but two rooms on the ground floor and two above, without fire-places, and all close and offensive ; the court-yard not secure, the allowance to each prisoner but four pence a day, and the keeper without any salary, and therefore expected, of course, to pay himself for his services by the fees extorted from those in his custody.

From Dover, Mr. Howard hastened to Cardington, where he partially rested from his labors for three months. I say partially, because in that time he visited a very ill-regulated gaol at Chelmsford, where the gaol-fever was raging fearfully, that being his inducement to go which would have deterred most men from venturing there.

It is pleasant to think of this good man, once more at his own comfortable home, served by those who loved and respected him, surrounded by affectionate and admiring friends, and administering to the comfort and well-being of his tenants and poor neighbours ; but his zeal did not suffer him long to indulge in this suspension of his labors.

Extensively acquainted as he now was with the sufferings of a large portion of his fellow beings, he could not rest till he had done all in his power to procure their relief. He wished to publish such a book as should present to the public a striking picture of the dreadful misery and mismanagement of English prisons, and turn people's attention forcibly to the subject. He meant also to point out the best remedies for these evils, and to show how much better the prisons of other neighbouring nations were conducted. To do this it was necessary to be very exact in all his facts, very correct in all his statements both at home and abroad ; and he determined before he arranged his papers for the press to make another general inspection of the prisons in the United Kingdom of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and to revisit those on the continent.

Delicate as his health always was, he travelled the whole winter, spent hours in damp, cold cells, and exposed himself frequently to the most malignant infection ; yet on he went, strong in mind and heart, and sufficiently so in body to accomplish his purpose. He was cheered and comforted on the way, by finding that some abuses had been corrected since his former visits ; and wherever he found any improvement, he

hailed it with delight, and gave those concerned every encouragement in his power.

The spring of 1776 he devoted to the re-inspection of the numerous prisons of the metropolis. In the summer he again went abroad to look at the gaols he had before visited, and to push his inquiries still further. This second view of foreign prisons confirmed his favorable opinion of them, and satisfied him of the great superiority of their internal arrangements over those of his own country. He became assured, also, that the gaol-fever was not known anywhere but in England. In Switzerland, he saw much to approve in the treatment of prisoners, and was agreeably surprised to find, that in some of the cantons there were no criminals at all; a circumstance which he partly attributes to the great care that was taken to give even the poorest children a moral and religious education.

At Basil Mr. Howard heard the following anecdote of the escape of a prisoner. "The gaol for felons is in one of the towers. One of the strongest cells is in a room by the great clock and is about six feet high. The trap door is in the flat roof; the prisoner goes down by a ladder, which is then taken up; his victuals are put

in at a wicket on one side. When I was in the room and took notice of the uncommon strength of it, the gaoler told me a prisoner had lately made his escape from it. I could not devise what method he took, but heard it was this. He had a spoon for soup which he sharpened so as to cut out a piece from the timber of his room, then by practice he acquired the knack of striking his door, just when the great clock struck which drowned the noise, and in fifteen days he forced all the bolts out. But attempting to let himself down from the vast height (of the tower) by a rope which he found, the rope failed him; and by falling he broke so many of his bones that the surgeons pronounced his recovery impossible. But his bones were set, and with proper care he did recover, and was pardoned."

One curious custom among the Germans was noticed by our traveller. He saw in many of their prisons the doors of different rooms marked *Ethiopia, India, Italy, France*; and found, on inquiring the meaning of it, that parents were in the habit of sending their dissolute children to be shut up in these apartments, and when they were asked after by their acquaintances, this prevaricating answer was made, that they were gone to Italy, or France, or any other country, the name

of which was on the door of their prison ; taking care, of course, that the distance of the place should correspond to the time of the young persons' imprisonment.

From Ghent, in the month of August, Howard returned to England. In connexion with his account of the excellent prison regulations of that city, he makes the following remark :

“ When I formerly made the tour of Europe, I seldom had occasion to envy foreigners any thing I saw with respect to their situation, their religion, manners, or government. In my late journeys, to view their *prisons*, I was sometimes put to the blush for my native country.”

We may form some idea of the indefatigable zeal with which this benevolent man pursued his task, when we learn that he did not allow himself even a day's repose at Cardington, after his long journey, before he set out again to complete his second general inspection of English gaols which he had begun in the previous winter. Several times he thought his task was done ; and then he heard of some place of confinement which he had not known of before, and would go immediately to explore new scenes of hidden woe. Among these was a prison for debtors, in the town of Knaresborough in Yorkshire. He found

it in a condition more wretched and disgusting than any which had yet been described. "It consisted of but one room difficult of access and having an earth floor, no fire-place, and a common sewer from the town running through it uncovered. Yet in this hole Mr. Howard was informed that an officer had been confined for a few days ; taking with him his dog to defend him from vermin, the animal was soon destroyed and the gentleman's face much disfigured by their attacks."

This and many more such scenes might have long continued to be acted within the walls of English prisons, had it not been for the unwearied exertions of this friend of man, who thought no sacrifice of personal comfort too great, to procure a redress of such wrongs.

At last he discontinued for a time his laborious investigations, and began to prepare for the press those statements which it had cost him nearly three years' perpetual exertion of mind and body to collect, and in doing which he had travelled more than ten thousand miles.

He now took all his papers and memorandums to an old retired friend of his, who assisted him in arranging and copying them. This done, he determined to have his book printed at Warring-

ton, where there was a very neat and careful printer, and where two of his friends * resided, from whom he expected, and received, great assistance in the literary part of his undertaking. For the purpose of being near the scene of his labors, and superintending the printing of his work, he took lodgings close to the printing-office; and so indefatigable was he in his attention to the business, that during a very severe winter he made it his practice to rise at three or four in the morning, though he did not retire to rest until ten. His reason for this early rising was, that he found the morning the stillest part of the day, when he could best devote his whole attention to the correction of the proof-sheets. "At seven he regularly dressed for the day, had his breakfast, and punctually at eight repaired to the printing-office, and remained there until the workmen went to dinner at one, when he returned to his lodgings, and putting some bread and raisins or other dried fruit in his pocket, he generally took a walk in the outskirts of the town, eating his simple hermit's fare as he went along, and this, with a glass of water, was the only dinner he ever took."

* Dr. Price and Dr. Aikin.

In the spring of 1777 his book was published. It was a quarto volume of more than five hundred pages, illustrated by twenty-two large copper-plate engravings, under the modest title of "The State of the Prisons in England and Wales; with Preliminary Observations, and an account of some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals." It was dedicated to the House of Commons, by way of acknowledgment for the honor conferred on him by their thanks, and for the attention they had already bestowed on the subject of prison discipline.

So desirous was the author, that the work might be the means of diffusing useful information, and so indifferent was he with respect to any emolument from it, that besides being profuse in his presents of copies to his acquaintance, and to all the chief men in the kingdom, he insisted on fixing the price so low that, had every copy been sold, he would not have been indemnified for half the expense of the printing and engraving.

The first part of Mr. Howard's work, so unassumingly called in the title-page, "Preliminary Observations," contained the highly important results to which his extensive observation had led him. It begins with a *general view of distress in prisons*, showing that those of England were

deficient in the articles of food, water, bedding, and fresh air; and that the morals of prisoners are totally neglected, the most criminal and abandoned being suffered to corrupt their younger and less wicked companions in captivity. Notice is also taken of the gaol-fever, that peculiar disgrace of English prisons, which has sometimes extended its dreadful ravages to courts of justice, and even to the army and navy. He closes his account of the *distress in prisons* with the following appeal to those hard-hearted persons who think that because a fellow man is guilty, he is not a proper object of compassion.

“Those gentlemen, who when they are told of the misery which our prisoners suffer, content themselves with saying, ‘*Let them take care to keep out of prison then,*’ seem not duly sensible of the favor of Providence which distinguishes them from the sufferers; they do not remember that we are required to imitate our gracious Heavenly Parent who is ‘*kind to the unthankful and the evil.*’ They also forget the vicissitude of human affairs, the unexpected changes to which all men are liable; that those whose circumstances are affluent may in time be reduced to indigence, and become debtors and prisoners. And as to criminality, it is possible that a man, who has often

shuddered at hearing the account of a murder, may on a sudden temptation commit that very crime. ‘*Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall,*’ and commiserate those that are fallen.”

The author’s next section is upon *bad customs in prisons*. Of these, he points out so many, that the amount might well make an Englishman blush for his country. The third section contains his proposed *improvements in the structure and management of prisons*; a very important part of his book, and one which exhibits the good sense and good feelings of the writer in an especial manner. We see in it that he had at heart two principal objects with respect to prisoners; these were to *alleviate their miseries*, and *correct their vices*. He considered all men as partaking of one common nature, and as having claims upon their fellow beings of which nothing can wholly deprive them; that even the highest degree of criminality does not excuse us from feeling compassion for the criminal, especially when he is suffering the consequences of his wickedness; that, as no man passes through life without some deviation from strict rectitude, so none has lived without the performance of some good actions. He was therefore convinced that

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it was the duty of society to provide for the health, and even, in some degree, for the comfort of all who are kept in confinement.

He moreover maintained, that wherever imprisonment was made the *punishment* of a crime, the *reformation* of the offender ought to be the main object in view, and to enforce this doctrine cost him more labor in collecting and applying facts than any other part of his system. It grieved him to perceive that this noble and exalted object, was that which was least understood and appreciated. The vulgar idea that criminals are abandoned and hardened beyond all possibility of amendment, appeared to him equally irrational and unchristian. He never despaired of the worst cases of moral corruption; but believed that regular employment, under strict superintendence, religious instruction, suitable rewards for good behaviour with penalties for sloth and refractoriness, including solitary confinement at night, would reform the greatest criminals.

These valuable Preliminary Observations, full of wise and humane suggestions, occupy but forty-three pages out of five hundred. The rest of the book contains an account of English and foreign gaols, bridewells, &c. In a few concluding remarks, he expresses his conviction that

nothing could be done, to improve the state of prisons, till a thorough parliamentary investigation should be set on foot. "Should this be undertaken," he adds, "I would cheerfully (relying still on the protection of that **KIND HAND** which has hitherto preserved me, and to which I desire to offer my most thankful acknowledgments) devote my time to one more, extensive, foreign journey, in which the Prussian and Austrian territories and the most considerable free cities of Germany would afford some new and useful lights on this **IMPORTANT NATIONAL CONCERN**." And with this pledge of his continued zeal in the noble cause to which he had devoted himself, he closes his work.

CHAPTER VII.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PUBLICATION OF MR. HOWARD'S BOOK — SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS SON — ANECDOTES OF HOWARD WHEN TRAVELLING — SECOND FOREIGN TOUR — ILLNESS AT THE HAGUE — LETTER FROM BERLIN — MONKS AT PRAGUE — 1777 - 1778.

THE unwearied assiduity displayed by Mr. Howard, in collecting the materials for his book, and preparing them for publication, met with its deserved reward. The work produced all the effect he desired. The attention of the government and indeed of the whole nation was forcibly directed to grievances and abuses that had existed for years unnoticed and unknown. Nor were men's minds less struck with the writer than with the subject of his book. The extraordinary perseverance and ability, with which Howard's voluntary labors had been prosecuted, became the theme of general wonder and admiration. He was now looked up to, both at home and abroad, as the friend of the captive, the reformer of prisons, the great philanthropist of the day.

Those, whose misconduct occasioned the grievances set forth in Mr. Howard's book, were of course very much provoked with the man who had detected them, and brought them before the public ; but all his statements were so true, so free from exaggeration, that they could not be contradicted ; and it was so evident that he was governed by the purest motives, that none dared to assail him. It is remarkable throughout his work, that though his business is to point out faults, and though he never flinches from his duty for fear of giving offence, he never marks out individuals as objects of censure. Where he finds any thing to praise, he particularizes the person in question ; but where he blames, it is the *abuse* that he dwells upon, leaving the *delinquent* to others more immediately concerned.

Whilst his book was making its way to the minds of the public, Mr. Howard retired to Cardington, and there, amidst his friends and in the society of his son, he rested awhile from his labors.

That son, whom we have hitherto noticed only as *little John*, was now grown a large boy, being about twelve years old. During the three years, that Mr. Howard had devoted to his extensive tours of benevolence, his son was placed at an acad-

emy near London where the scholars were lodged and boarded, and were always under the care of the principal ; here he was within an hour's ride of his aunt, his nearest relation on his father's side, and with that lady, or with his uncles and relations on his mother's side, he spent his vacations during his father's absence. Whenever Mr. Howard was at Cardington he liked to have his son with him, and when separated from him, he wrote constantly to him. He was a boy of a particularly volatile disposition ; and though he seemed at times very fond of his father, he did not readily conform to his wishes, or obey his commands ; in consequence of which, he sometimes brought on himself the heaviest punishment ever inflicted by Mr. Howard on his son, that of making him sit still in his presence without speaking, for a time proportioned to the nature of his offence.

The pecuniary expectations of this youth were considerable ; for besides being the natural heir of his father's paternal estate, his mother's fortune was entailed upon him, and would be at his disposal whenever he became of age. His mother's rich brothers too were without children, and he was therefore presumptive heir to them also. As he early became idle and dissipated, it is to be

feared that this prospect of possessing affluence, without any exertion on his part, may have been a disadvantage to him, as it has been to many others.

The death of Mr. Howard's only sister, in this year, added considerably to his property, and, his son being amply provided for, he felt himself at liberty to employ these funds for the extension of his plans of benevolence. From this sister he inherited a commodious house in London, which he afterwards occupied whenever he went to town.

Before we follow him on any new expedition, it may be well to give the few anecdotes we have been able to collect, respecting his former travels. In his earlier tours through England, Ireland and Scotland, he was usually attended by his faithful domestic, John Prole. They travelled on horseback, about forty miles a-day. "He was never," says a gentleman of Dublin, who had much free conversation with him on his mode of travelling, "at a loss for an inn. When in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland,* he used to stop at one of the poor cabins, that stuck up a rag by way of sign, and get a little milk. When

* There were at that time no decent inns in the small towns of either country.

he came to the town he was to sleep at, he bespoke a supper, with wine and beer, like another traveller, that he might not disappoint the people of the inn of their profits on such a meal ; but after it was served, " he made his man attend him, and take it away, whilst he was preparing his bread and milk. He always paid the waiters, postilions, &c. liberally, because he would have no discontent or dispute, nor suffer his spirits to be agitated by such a matter ; saying, that in a journey which might cost three or four hundred pounds, fifteen or twenty pounds was not worth thinking about."

In his first two visits to the continent, to look at prisons, he took no attendant with him, but went from place to place by the public conveyances, or by post.

In his later journeys through his native land, he had Thomasson with him ; who also attended him whilst he stayed at Warrington.

A gentleman, who travelled with him from London in a post-chaise, gave the following characteristic anecdote of him to one of his biographers. Finding it very difficult to make the drivers attend to his directions, as to going faster or slower, he took this method of punishing one who had been refractory. When he arrived at

the end of the stage, and was about to settle* with the driver, or post-boy as he is sometimes called in England, he desired the landlord of the inn to send for some poor industrious widow, or any other proper object of charity, and to introduce such person into the room with the driver. When they both appeared, he paid the post-boy his fare, and then told him, that as he had not thought proper to attend to his repeated requests, as to the manner of being driven, he should not make him any present; but, to show him that he did not withhold it from any feeling of covetousness, he would give the poor person present double the sum usually given to a post-boy. This he did, and dismissed the parties. He had not long practised this mode, he said, before he experienced the good effects of it, on all the roads where he was known."

The widely extended benevolence of this good man took nothing from his interest in his own family, or in the circle of his friends at Cardington and Bedford; nor did it prevent his ministering largely to the comfort and happiness of his tenants, and the poor of his neighbourhood.

* It is the custom in England to pay so much a mile for the use of the carriage and horses, and then to make the post-boy a present.

He continued to have new cottages built, and to take care of the morals of their inhabitants. The schools he had established flourished in his absence, and were constantly visited by him when at Cardington. Although the chief ornament of his home had been taken from him, and the loss of that beloved wife had left a void in his heart which nothing could fill, he appeared, during his short residence at Cardington, to enjoy the society of his friends. That his return was at all times hailed by them with heartfelt delight will readily be believed ; and when his fame began to spread abroad and they found how much this familiar friend of theirs was valued and known in the world, they congratulated themselves on having been so long acquainted with his surpassing worth, on having had for a fireside companion, the man whom the whole civilized world might consider its benefactor.

The House of Commons now entered with proper zeal upon the business of reforming prisons ; and a bill was brought forward, for punishing certain offenders by imprisonment and hard labor, and for establishing proper places for their reception. The plan was founded upon the rasp and spin houses in Holland. Parliament had therefore a right to claim the performance of

Mr. Howard's promise, to make another foreign tour for the purpose of collecting further information upon prison discipline, and the good man was ready to anticipate the demand. After being examined before a select committee of the House of Commons, he prepared to set out once more upon his travels. Taking Thomasson with him, he crossed over to Holland in April, 1778, and began with fresh spirit his inspection of houses of correction and all establishments of a penitentiary kind, in the United Provinces.

He had been in Amsterdam only a day or two, when he met with a very serious accident from a horse running away with a dray, which catching him by the coat, as he was walking along the street, threw him upon a heap of stones with such force as to bruise him severely, and render him unable to travel for several days; and when he was removed to the Hague, the pain he suffered brought on a fever which confined him to his room for six weeks, and, for a considerable part of that time, his life was in great danger. As soon as he was able to write, though only a few lines each day, we find the following notes made by the sufferer, which sufficiently prove the severity of his illness, and the true Christian resignation with which he bore it.

“Hague, May 11, 1778. Do me good, O God ! by this painful affliction. May I see the great uncertainty of health, ease, and comfort, and that all my springs are in Thee. Oh, the painful and wearisome nights I possess ! May I be more thankful if restored to health, more compassionate to others, more absolutely devoted to God.

“May 12. In patience may I possess my soul, and say, It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.

“May 13. In pain and anguish all night, my very life a burthen to me. Help, Lord ; vain is the help of man. In Thee do I put my trust, let me never be confounded. All refuges but Christ are refuges of lies ; my soul, stay thou on that rock.

“May 14. This night my fever abated, my pains less. I thank God, I had two hours' sleep, prior to which, for sixteen days and nights, not four hours' sleep. Righteous art Thou in all thy ways, and holy in all thy works ; sanctify this affliction, and show me wherefore Thou contendest with me. Bring me out of the furnace as silver purified seven times.

“May 15. Show me, O God, wherefore thou contendest with me, that I may recover strength

before I go hence and am no more seen. May this great affliction be to try me, and prove me, and to do me good in my latter end; to wean my affections from this world, and to fix them on the rest that remaineth for the people of God.

* * * * *

“May 19. A better night, less pain. Thou art putting a song of praise into my mouth, O thou God that hearest prayer! Perfect the mercy begun, and may I never forget the mercy of God.”

About ten days after this last note was written, he was well enough to go back to Amsterdam. Here he attended public worship, and returned thanks for his deliverance from the danger that had threatened his life; after which he made the following entry in his diary.

“May 31. A poor night, faint; yet, blessed be God! enabled to attend his public worship. Lord, revive, and put a new song of praise into my mouth.”

As soon as he was at all able to resume his labors, he began his fresh inspection of Dutch establishments for the *punishment* and *reform* of criminals. That those two things ought to go together was the firm conviction of his mind;

that they might do so, he now saw ample proof. That they should be brought together in his own land, to prevent the increase of crime and save the lives and morals of thousands, was the first wish of his heart, and the main object which now animated him in procuring the amplest details concerning the houses of correction in Holland. These had so fully answered their end, that, in the city and province of Utrecht, there had not been a single execution for fourteen years. After completing his tour of Holland, Mr. Howard thus writes : " I leave this country with regret, as it affords a large field for information on the important subject I have in view. I know not which to admire most, the *neatness* and *cleanliness* appearing in the prisons, the *industry* and *regular conduct* of the prisoners, or the *humanity* and *attention* of the magistrates and governors."

Another particular which claimed the warm approbation of the philanthropist was the care bestowed on the nurture and education of the children of malefactors. Orphan-houses, as they were emphatically called, though many of the inmates had lost their parents by wickedness, not death, were established throughout the country, and furnished each year a large number of useful and industrious citizens to the state.

Even in this country, we have reason to know that the Dutch children are early trained to habits of industry ; for it is their little fingers that *make* the toys, which the fingers of American children *play with, and destroy*.

Our traveller proceeded through Hanover into Prussia, where he found the prisons in a much better condition than in the German states. In the work-house at Berlin, he saw four hundred and fifty persons, old and young, men and women, actively engaged in carding and spinning wool ; and every time Mr. Howard visited them, he was very agreeably struck with their cleanly and healthy appearance.

One peculiarity of Prussian prisons, which he was rejoiced to observe, was the absence of a torture-chamber. The barbarous practice of torturing criminals, to make them confess their crimes, was general through all the nations he had visited, except Prussia, where the reigning King, Frederick the Great, had set the laudable example of doing it away altogether.

From Berlin, Mr. Howard wrote the following letter to his friend, the Rev. Thomas Smith, who, at the earnest request of the traveller, was at this time occupying his house at Cardington, as a summer residence.

“ Berlin, June 28, 1778.

“ Dear Sir,

“ It is with pleasure I heard by John Prole’s letter, which I received last Thursday, on my arrival here, that you are at Cardington. It gives me pleasure to think that a place on which I have employed so many of my thoughts, should afford my friend any entertainment. My pain and fever, brought on by the accident I met with in Holland, made me almost despair of accomplishing my journey, or even ever returning to England; but through sparing mercy I am recovered, and have that pleasing hope before me. I was presented on Friday to Prince Henry, who very graciously conversed with me ten minutes, and said, ‘he could hardly conceive of a more disagreeable journey, but the object was great and humane.’

* * * * *

“ I have both parts of this day joined in worship with the French Protestants, a pleasure I shall be debarred of many weeks. I am here nobly lodged, drank tea this afternoon with Prince Dolgeruky, the Russian Ambassador, yet I thirst for the land of liberty, my Cardington friends and retreat.

"Please, sir, to tell John Prole, I observe the contents of his letter, I shall write in five or six weeks, and that I must build no more cottages (as he is still fetching materials to finish the last) till I have quite done with my gaol schemes.

"Through the Hanoverian dominions, and that part of Germany I have seen, there is prospect of great plenty of corn, which must prevent its being very dear in England. I take my leave with affectionate compliments to Mrs. Smith, and a kiss for the babe. Accept the tenderest assurances of regard from,

"Dear sir,

"Your friend and servant,

"J. HOWARD.

"Thermometer, 79 in the shade.

"I beg to be remembered to any inquiring friends at Bedford. Say that I am well, and in spirits to undertake any enterprise but *one*, which I hope never more will be pressed upon me, as totally destructive of that tranquillity and ease in which I hope to pass the remaining years of my life.

"Adieu my friend, let me share your serious moments.

J. H."

The enterprise here alluded to, is a second attempt to get him elected to a seat in Parliament,

which his friends in Bedford were desirous of making, whenever a vacancy should occur. This honor, so much coveted by most Englishmen that they are willing to make the greatest sacrifices to obtain it, was steadily refused by Mr. Howard. He could never be persuaded to give his Bedford friends the least encouragement to propose him as a candidate, though there was every reason to believe that, had it been done, he would now have been elected. He wisely considered that the duties of a member of Parliament would interfere, at his present time of life, with the active service in which he was engaged; and when his present task should be accomplished, he hoped to pass the evening of his days in retirement at Cardington.

We see in Mr. Howard's letter to his friend that he mentions an interview he had had with Prince Henry, but he does not give the particulars of the conversation. One part of it is so characteristic of the entire devotion of the philanthropist to the work he had in hand, that it may be well to relate it. The Prince asked him, whether he ever went to any public place in the evening, after the labors of the day were over. He answered that he never did, as he derived more pleasure from doing his duty, than from

any amusement whatever. Impressed as Mr. Howard's mind was with the shortness and uncertainty of life, and the importance of the information he was seeking, he strictly confined himself to the objects connected with his pursuit.

The only instance, we know of his deviating from his rule, occurred at Prague, where a visit to one of the principal monasteries of the Capuchin Friars, gave rise to an odd adventure, which is related in Thomasson's journal. "On reaching this convent, he found the holy fathers at dinner, round a table, which, though it was meagre day with them, was sumptuously furnished with all the delicacies the season could afford, of which he was very politely invited to partake. This however, he not only declined to do, but accompanied his refusal by a pretty severe lecture to the elder monks, in which he told them that he thought they had retired from the world, to live a life of abstemiousness and prayer; but he found, on the reverse, that their monastery was a house of revelling and drunkenness. He added, moreover, that he was going to Rome, and he would take care that the Pope should be made acquainted with the impropriety of their conduct. Alarmed, or at least thinking it pru-

dent to seem to be alarmed, at this threat, four or five of these *holy* friars found their way the next morning to the hotel, at which their visitor had taken up his abode, to beg pardon for the offence they had given him by their unseemly mode of living, and to entreat that he would not say any thing of what had passed to his Holiness or to any of the officers of the papal see. To this request Mr. Howard replied, that he should make no promise upon the subject, but would merely say, that if he heard that the offence was not repeated, he might probably be silent on what was past. With this sort of half assurance, the monks were compelled to be satisfied ; but before they took leave of the *heretical* reprover of their excesses, they gave him a solemn promise, that no such violation of their rules should again be permitted in their time, and that they would keep a constant watch over the younger members of their community, to guard them against similar excesses ; and here the conference ended."

From Prague, our traveller proceeded to Vienna, where he spent a fortnight in visiting prisons ; but they were old buildings and afforded him no instruction. In his account of the principal prison, are the following interesting particulars :

"Here, as usual," says he, "I inquired whether they had any putrid fever, and was answered in the negative. But in one of the dark dungeons, down twenty-four steps, I thought I had found a person with the gaol-fever. He was loaded with heavy irons, and chained to the wall; anguish and misery appeared, with tears clotted on his face. He was not capable of speaking to me; but on examining his breast and feet for spots, and finding he had a strong intermitting pulse, I was convinced he was not ill of that disorder. A prisoner in an opposite cell, told me that the poor creature had desired him to call out for assistance, and he had done it, but was not heard.* This is one of the bad effects of dungeons.

* This scene is the subject of the frontispiece to *Mr. Hayley's Ode to Howard*; but it is better drawn in the following stanza of that performance :

"When in the dungeon's loathsome shade
The speechless captive clanks his chain,
With heartless hope to raise that aid
His feeble cries have called in vain;
Thine eye his dumb complaint explores,
Thy voice his parting breath restores,
Thy cares his ghastly visage clear
From death's chill dew, with many a clotted tear,
And to his thankful soul, returning life endear."

“I have frequently been asked what precautions I use, to preserve myself from infection in the prisons and hospitals I visit. I here answer, once for all, that, next to the free goodness and mercy of the Author of my being, temperance and cleanliness are my preservatives. Trusting in Divine Providence, and believing myself in the way of my duty, I visit the most noxious cells, and, while thus employed, ‘*I fear no evil.*’ I never enter a hospital or prison before breakfast, and in an offensive room I seldom draw my breath deeply.”

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTINUATION OF MR. HOWARD'S TOUR THROUGH
GERMANY INTO ITALY — NAPLES — LEGHORN —
MILAN — LIEGE — TORTURE — PRISONERS OF
WAR — RETURN TO ENGLAND — 1778.

IN Mr. Howard's former tours of inspection, he had occasionally visited *hospitals* as well as *prisons*; and in his present one, he paid a good deal of attention to the manner of regulating them, wherever he thought the system pursued was a good one. In Holland, he took little notice of these institutions, because he did not approve of their mode of keeping the patients so warm, and excluding the fresh air. In Vienna, on the contrary, he found much to observe and admire in the management of the numerous hospitals, which he speaks of as an honor to the citizens in general, but especially to the Empress Queen, who was their great promoter and supporter.

It was perhaps this trait in the Queen's character, which induced him to accept the civilities she offered him, for he was generally averse to court honors; wherever he could make his way

and attain his object, without help or favor from the great, he preferred doing so. In Vienna, however, he had an interview with the Queen of Hungary, and had the honor also of dining with her, on some public occasion, when the nobles of her court and the foreign ambassadors were her guests.

And here I must not omit a circumstance which, though trifling in itself, shows the kind consideration of this good man for all about him. He procured permission from some of the Queen's household, for his attendant, Thomasson, to pass through the room whilst her majesty was at table, which the man describes in his journal as a very grand sight.

Another anecdote is told of him, whilst at Vienna, which shows his love of truth, and the fearlessness with which he declared it at all times and in all companies. "Dining one day at the table of the English ambassador, at the Austrian court, the conversation turned upon the use of torture, when a German gentleman of the party observed, that the glory of abolishing it, in his own dominions, belonged to his Imperial Majesty. 'Pardon me,' said Mr. Howard; 'his Imperial Majesty has only abolished one species of torture, to establish in its place another more cruel; for

the torture, which he abolished, lasted, at the most, a few hours; but that which he has appointed lasts many weeks, nay, sometimes years. The poor wretches are plunged into a noisome dungeon, as bad as the Black Hole at Calcutta, from which they are taken, only if they confess what is laid to their charge.' 'Hush,' said the ambassador, 'your words will be reported to his Majesty.' 'What,' replied he, 'shall my tongue be tied from speaking the truth by any king or emperor in the world? I repeat what I asserted, and maintain its veracity.' Deep silence ensued, and every one present admired the intrepid boldness of the man of humanity."

From Vienna, Mr. Howard went to Gratz and Trieste on his way to Venice. He says that he entered Italy "with raised expectations of considerable information, from a careful attention to the prisons and hospitals of a country abounding with charitable institutions and public edifices."

Venice, however, did not meet his expectations. The chief prison there is in the Doge's palace, and our traveller describes it as one of the strongest places of confinement he had ever seen; he was shocked to find between three and four hundred persons in it, and many of them confined

in dark and loathsome dungeons for life. On being asked whether they would not prefer working in the galleys, they all answered in the affirmative; "so great a blessing," says Howard, "is light and air." The use of the chapel was confined to such as were condemned to death; and they continued in it a night and a day before their execution.

At Padua, a singular custom prevailed of allowing insolvent debtors their liberty, if they would submit to the disgrace of sitting three times upon a high stone stool; but when Mr. Howard was there, no one had for ten years paid this price for his freedom.

Finding little or nothing to afford him any instruction, he passed on from city to city, till he arrived at Florence, where the Grand Duke gave orders for his admission to all the prisons and hospitals in his dominions.

When Mr. Howard was thus publicly announced and officially introduced to the scenes of his labors, he always took care to repeat his visits some time after when he was not expected, that he might find out the real state of the prisoners and patients, and not be deceived by appearances got up for the occasion.

In this beautiful city of Florence, he found a prison, the arrangements, of which were somewhat upon the plan he had proposed for the gaols of his own country. Finding at his first visit to this prison, that the daily allowance of food was only fifteen ounces of bread, he left a sum of money sufficient to buy a dinner of beef and mutton for all the prisoners, and some tea and sugar for the women. Returning thither a few days afterwards, he was greatly surprised, on entering the wards, to hear his praises chanted forth in hymns and choruses by those who had fed on his bounty, and whose gratitude for such an unexpected and unusual favor knew no bounds. Their expressions were too extravagant to be addressed to any human being, and the modest philanthropist hastened to put a stop to them. He who thought so humbly of his best exertions, could ill bear to be extolled as a saint and an angel, for a small donation like the one in question.

The religious orders in Florence paid great attention to the sick of the city. Nuns were their nurses, and monks their physicians, and the hospitals were well regulated. Entering the Papal States, but meeting with little to his purpose by the way, our traveller passed on to Rome,

Here amid the grand and imposing ruins of ancient days, and the magnificent piles of later ages, Howard had the satisfaction of finding some structures reared for the purposes of humanity, and some so regulated as to lead to the reform as well as the punishment of offenders. A large and noble edifice, called the Hospital of St. Michael, he found to be a school of industry for orphans, an asylum for the aged, and a sort of penitentiary for young delinquents. Various trades were taught to the young, and at the age of twenty they were set up in business. About two hundred were thus carefully educated and provided for. Double that number of infirm old people enjoyed here a comfortable retreat, and were thankful for it. Over that part of the building appropriated to juvenile delinquents, was a Latin inscription purporting that it was erected in 1704 by Pope Clement XI, for the correction and instruction of profligate youth; that they, who when idle were injurious, might, when instructed, be useful to the state. In one of the rooms was this admirable inscription, "in which," says Howard with great truth, "the grand purpose of all civil policy relative to criminals is expressed."

"PARUM EST COERCERE IMPROBOS PENA, NISI PROBOS EFFICIAS DISCIPLINA."

"*It is of little advantage to restrain the bad by punishment, unless you render them good by discipline.*"

An intimate friend of Mr. Howard's has said, that he would almost have thought it worth while to travel to Rome for that sentence alone. In another room of this establishment, fifty boys were employed in spinning, and in the middle of it was suspended, in large letters of gold, the word, SILENTIUM, *Silence*.

In this city, as well as in several others in Italy, Mr. Howard met with a singular society. It was called a *Confraternità della Misericordia*, or *Brotherhood of Mercy*. It consisted at Rome of seventy members, chiefly noblemen of the first families. After a prisoner was condemned, one or two of these brethren came, on the midnight before his execution, to inform him of his sentence, and to continue with him until his death, joining the priest in exhorting and comforting him, and at the same time offering him his choice of the most delicious food, which last is a common practice on the continent of Europe. The whole fraternity, dressed in a disguise of white robes, attended the execution; and, the criminal having been

left to hang till evening, one of their members, generally a prince, then cut down the body and ordered it to be interred in a burial-place, devoted by the Society to the reception of malefactors. Happening to be in Rome, on the only day in the year, when this cemetery is open to the public, Mr. Howard went to see it. It was a square court adjoining a church; one side being formed by a chapel, the others by handsome porticoes supported by Doric pillars. The tombs were marble squares with circular apertures for the reception of the bodies, which were interred in the dress in which they were hanged, and, according to the common usage of Italians, without coffins. This appropriate text in Latin was inscribed on the tomb, "O Lord, when thou shalt come to judge, do not condemn us."

The hospitals for the sick were numerous, but generally ill-ventilated and crowded, though they never had more than one patient in a bed. Rome, however, could boast of one institution very rarely to be met with, but of great utility, a hospital for convalescents, where recovering patients might enter and continue three days, being lodged in airy rooms, well fed, and well attended during that time.

Mr. Howard longed to penetrate the dreadful secrets of the prison of the Inquisition, but he tells us that the chambers of this silent and melancholy abode were quite inaccessible to him. He spent two hours about the court and the priests' apartments, till his continuance there began to excite suspicion.

In Naples the number and extent of the charitable institutions, penitentiaries, and prisons, must have equalled our traveller's expectations; but the want of a proper classification among the inmates was a striking defect. Ample provision was made for the care of the sick, but sufficient attention was not paid to those arrangements which would prevent sickness. In the principal prison were nine hundred and eighty prisoners. In eight large rooms communicating with each other, Mr. Howard saw four hundred and fifty sickly objects, evidently suffering from the want of a free circulation of air. Six chambers opened into a spacious hall, and were furnished with numerous beds for those who could pay for them; but seven others, close and offensive in the extreme, contained thirty-one prisoners, almost in a state of nakedness, on account of the great heat of these places; and in six dirty rooms, communicating the one with the other, were fifty women.

Of all these numerous prisoners, but one was in irons ; he was in a dungeon near a small chapel allotted to the condemned before execution. From the heat of the climate, Mr. Howard expected to find the gaol-fever in some of the Italian prisons, but he never met with it any where on the Continent.

The Neapolitan galleys attracted his attention. There were four of them, moored about ten feet from the shore, which contained upwards of twelve hundred slaves, chained two and two together. He found their allowance of bread was twenty-six ounces daily, and that it was sweet, though hard ; when employed in any of the public works they had an additional allowance. If they attempted to escape and were retaken, the term of their confinement was doubled. Some of those condemned for life to the galleys, had been recently *presented* to the Maltese by the king of Naples, which shows how completely these poor creatures were considered as his property. Under such despotic governments, they were disposed of as unceremoniously as a flock of sheep would be. Such violations of the rights of man must have occasioned Mr. Howard many painful emotions, and caused him to be thankful that in his own country, what-

ever other abuses might exist, no one could buy or sell his fellow man.

Returning from Naples to Rome, Mr. Howard visited the Pope's galleys at Civita Vecchia. They were five in number, but three were out on a cruise. The whole were under the superintendence of an Englishman, who gave our traveller a minute account of their regulations. The term of confinement differed according to the crime of the delinquent. None were sent there under twenty years of age, but younger offenders were put into penitentiaries with a view to their reformation. The galley-slaves here were allowed three pounds of bread every day, with soup made of beans boiled in oil, every other day; and when employed for the public, they had the whole of their earnings for their own use. Mr. Howard passed a night on board a small vessel, which lay by the side of a galley containing four hundred prisoners, and had an opportunity of observing the great silence which reigned there.

A vessel bound to Leghorn happening to put into the port of Civita Vecchia whilst the philanthropist was there, he took passage on board of her, having previously determined to go thither by sea if he could. Short as the distance was,

the voyage proved both tedious and perilous. On the evening of the second day, the captain put into a creek on the coast, and pitched a tent on the shore for his passengers to pass the night in; the weather was fine and warm, and the scenery beautiful, and therefore this was an agreeable variety in the voyage. But the next morning they set sail and were just out of sight of land, when a dreadful tempest arose, accompanied by thunder and lightening, which drove them to one of the small islands on the Italian coast. They anchored under the walls of a town, the inhabitants of which would not permit them to land, on account of a rumor that the plague had appeared at the place to which the ship belonged. The next morning, they put to sea again; but, the storm increasing, they were driven on the coast of Africa, where the Algerines would not permit them to land without performing quarantine. To this neither the captain nor his passengers would consent; so, after remaining one night on that coast, they left it with a good wind blowing from those inhospitable shores. After tossing about in rough weather, for three days more, they reached the land at the back of the island of Gorgona, where they anchored for the night. The next

morning, the Governor sent his long-boat with twenty-four rowers, to bring Mr. Howard and his servant to the port on the other side of the island. There he received every attention from the officers of government and other inhabitants. The vessel too was brought to a safe anchorage in front of the island, and was there wind-bound for five or six days. The philanthropist found, even on this barren rock, an object of inspection connected with his benevolent mission. Two rooms at the top of the castle were used as a prison, and he rejoiced to find the place of confinement for the island so situated, rather than in dungeons under the castle, as is too often the case. At last the wind became fair, and the voyage to Leghorn was completed, without any further adventures.

At Leghorn and Genoa there was not much to be learned ; but at the great trading city of Milan, he found a new penitentiary which afforded him much satisfaction ; with a few exceptions it came up to his ideas of what such an institution ought to be. It was a noble and spacious building, containing within its walls numerous manufactories, in which the prisoners were usefully and busily employed. Every attention was paid to cleanliness, and to the per-

fect ventilation of the rooms. Mr. Howard was so much pleased to find, in successful operation, the sort of penitentiary which he wished to have established in his own country, that he took Thomasson with him to see it ; and through this man's journal, we are made acquainted with an anecdote of the benevolent traveller, which would otherwise never have transpired, and we are led to wish that there had oftener been an eye-witness present, to record his deeds of mercy ; not because we need any assurance of their frequency, but on account of the interesting circumstances with which they must have been attended, and which are now lost to us in consequence of his silence on such subjects. The story told by Thomasson is this. Seeing a good-looking youth, apparently not more than four or five and twenty years of age, working upon very fine gold brocade, Mr. Howard entered into conversation with him, and found that he was highly accomplished, and could speak four or five different languages. He was pleased too with the young prisoner's state of mind ; and finding that the misdemeanor for which he was confined might be atoned for by a fine, he paid it, set the young man at liberty, and furnished him with funds to carry him home. For all

which, the ransomed prisoner was extremely grateful, and showed every respect and attention to his benefactor, during his stay in Milan.

Mr. Howard was much struck by the small number of debtors in confinement, in a great commercial city like Milan ; there were but four, whereas in London, at that time, there could not be less than a thousand.

On leaving Italy, Mr. Howard passed through Switzerland, and a part of Germany he had not before visited ; he again traversed the Netherlands, carefully inspecting the prisons, houses of correction, and hospitals of that country ; but we shall only notice his account of the two prisons at Liege, which, being as bad as any he had met with in his journeyings, may serve as a specimen of others which we have passed over in silence.

“The two prisons, distinguished by the name of the *old* and the *new*, are situated in Liege on the ramparts of the city. In two rooms of the *old* prison, I saw six cages made very strong with iron hoops, four of which were empty. The dimensions were seven feet by six feet nine inches, and six feet and a half high. On one side was an aperture, six inches by four, for giving in the victuals. These were dismal places of

confinement, but I soon found worse. In descending deep under ground, from the gaoler's apartments, I heard the moans of the miserable wretches in the dark dungeons. The sides and roof of these were all of stone. In wet weather water from the fosses gets into them, and has greatly damaged the floors. Each of them had two small apertures, one for admitting air, and another with a shutter over it strongly bolted, for putting in food to the prisoners. One dungeon larger than the rest was appropriated to the sick. In looking into this with a candle I discovered a stove, and felt some surprise at this little escape of humanity from the man who constructed these cells.

"The dungeons in the *new* prison are still more shocking; a confinement in them so overpowers human nature, as sometimes irrecoverably to take away the senses. I heard the cries of the distracted as I went down to them. One woman however, I saw, who, as I was told, had sustained this horrid confinement forty-seven years without becoming distracted.

"The cries of the sufferers in the torture-chamber may be heard by the passengers without, and guards are placed to prevent them from stopping and listening. A physician and sur-

geon always attend when the torture is applied ; and, on a signal given by a bell, the gaoler brings in wine, vinegar, and water, to prevent the sufferers from expiring. ‘ *The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.*’ Thus in the Spanish Inquisition, a physician and a surgeon attend to determine the utmost extremity of suffering which can be borne without expiring under the torture.”

Mr. Howard makes frequent mention of the torture in all his tours of inspection ; which shows that it was in common use throughout most of the countries of Europe, and that those nations which had abolished it, were exceptions to the general rule. As this cruelty was inflicted by order of magistrates, as well as of higher powers, there must have been a very numerous class of persons, in each country, who were in the habit of condemning prisoners to the torture, and seeing it applied. Among this number, there must have been some who possessed good feelings and exercised benevolence in the other relations of life, though so unfeeling in this ; which shows how the mind may be blinded and the heart hardened by the force of custom and of public opinion ; how it may be led into practices, not only contrary to the spirit of Chris-

tianity, but at variance with other parts of the character.

We, who have never lived under a government that considered torture the proper means of procuring the confession of a criminal, can hardly imagine a respectable citizen, who performs all the duties of a kind neighbour, a good husband, and an affectionate father, rising from the table where he had been enjoying the smiles of his wife and children, and indulging all the kind feelings of his nature, to go to the torture-chamber of a prison, and seat himself at a table covered with black cloth, strewed with instruments ingeniously contrived to produce agony, and smeared perhaps with the blood of former victims, there deliberately to order and to see inflicted on a fellow being the utmost suffering that human nature can endure. Yet such cases must have frequently occurred in countries where the practice of torture has prevailed.

Nothing can insure any one from being thus made the slave of the customs and manners of the age and country in which he happens to be born, but taking for his standard of right the precepts of Jesus, and faithfully following the law of love which he taught.

In passing through France, on his way home, the philanthropist met with no hindrance to his progress, though that country was then at war with England ; and he made use of his freedom and his influence to ameliorate the condition of the prisoners of war. Remembering his own sufferings when in that condition twenty-two years before, he paid particular attention to the subject, and had reason to believe that some good effects were still visible from his exertions at that period. He found no captives quite so badly situated as he had then been ; and some grievances which he had pointed out on entering France this time, he had the satisfaction of finding had been done away when he returned again to the same place. In conversing with prisoners of war, he always took occasion to exhort them to be true to their country, and never to enlist with the enemy, as they were often persuaded to do. This proceeding on his part gave great offence to the French government. It was not believed that he was acting in a private capacity ; on the contrary he was regarded as a British spy, and became an object of suspicion to the French ever after.

At Calais he found several crews of English vessels, who had become prisoners of war in con-

sequence of being wrecked on the French coast, and were in a most destitute condition, having scarcely any clothes to cover them. Their generous countryman supplied them with comfortable suits at his own expense. Having closed his foreign labors with this deed of charity, he crossed the channel and landed onè more on his native shores.

CHAPTER IX.

**EFFECT OF BENEVOLENCE — HOWARD AT CARD-
INGTON — ANOTHER GENERAL SURVEY OF BRIT-
ISH PRISONS — PUBLICATION OF THE APPENDIX
— HE IS APPOINTED SUPERVISOR — RESIGNS
THE OFFICE — 1778 — 1780.**

WHEN Mr. Howard landed at Dover, from his third philanthropic tour, he had travelled four thousand six hundred and sixty miles, and had devoted his whole time and strength for nine months to his benevolent labors. He had passed from place to place with the greatest diligence, and had occupied himself with those objects only which were connected with his great purpose, that of reforming prison discipline, converting the punishments inflicted by law into the means of correcting the offender, and thus making him a better and happier member of society.

In reviewing the life of this devoted man, ever since he was made High Sheriff, and considering how large a portion of those six years had been spent in scenes of misery and wretchedness, the bare recital of which makes one sick at heart, some may be ready to ask, "How could

he bear it, unless his feelings were blunted by so much familiarity with woe ?" To this it may be safely replied, that through his whole course of prison labors, which continued seventeen years, he never appears to have lost any of his sensibility, nor is there any reason to fear this effect where the familiarity with suffering is accompanied by humane exertions to relieve it ; and he, who penetrated the dungeon's gloom and witnessed the agonies it concealed, knew that his testimony, when published to the world, would do more for the relief of such widespread misery, than any other human means. This was the particular duty, to which he felt himself called ; and it is agreeable to the constitution of our moral nature, that the character should be formed to virtue and grow in loveliness by the scrupulous performance of duty. The grace of real sensibility cannot therefore be lost through the labors of benevolence ; on the contrary every act of mercy, performed from love to God and love to man, strengthens that principle within us ; and love is the foundation of all Christian excellence.

But to return from this contemplation of Mr. Howard's character, to the narrative of his ever active life. From Ghent he had despatched

Thomasson to England with orders to take his son from school to Cardington, as soon as his holidays were begun, that he might be at home ready to meet his father ; but instead of going directly to his home and his child, he went first to London and there spent some days, representing to the proper authorities the grievances of which the French had complained to him, as existing among prisoners of war in England. He moreover announced his intention of ascertaining, by personal inspection, whether these complaints were well-founded or not, and was offered every facility for the undertaking.

Having fulfilled this duty, he set off for Bedfordshire, and had the happiness of finding his son in fine health and spirits, and his house and grounds in good order ; the faithful John Prole and his wife having managed all things well in his absence. He now allowed himself a little rest, and a little social enjoyment, among his numerous attached friends and connexions, neighbours and tenants. He bought a pony for his son, that he might accompany him on horseback to make his visits.

Very short however was the respite he allowed himself. It was only during his son's holidays. As soon as the boy returned to school,

the philanthropist was again busy in his vocation. With the true spirit of a citizen of the world, he made diligent inquiry into the treatment of all prisoners of war, whether Americans, Spaniards, or French, visiting every *depôt* in England, Scotland, and Ireland. He soon found that the complaints he had heard in France were but too well founded. At Plymouth, where a large number were confined, the bread and meat were bad, the hospital for the sick was dirty and offensive, and what was particularly unpleasant to the philanthropic feelings of Mr. Howard, the French prisoners were worse fed and lodged than those of other nations.

Whilst investigating the situation of prisoners of war, he was at the same time carrying on a general inspection of gaols and bridewells throughout the United Kingdom. He was desirous of seeing and noting whatever improvements had been made since his former visits, of observing what good had resulted from the passing of certain acts of Parliament, and what had been done by the magistrates and influential men in each county, in consequence of his published account of existing evils. For this purpose, he employed the greater part of the year 1779, in various tours through the British Isles,

returning after each excursion to spend a few days at Cardington.

Mr. Howard had the satisfaction of finding some grievances done away, some new gaols built on an improved plan, and better regulations introduced into others. Still there was a great mass of wrongs and sufferings to be redressed and mitigated, and these he again noted with unwearied patience, intending to make further statements with regard to English gaols, in the book he was about to print on the subject of foreign prisons.

It would be tedious to follow the philanthropist in his present inspection of British gaols; but we cannot omit his general observations on the small number of felons and debtors in Scotland.

“There are in Scotland but few prisoners; this is partly owing to the shame and disgrace annexed to imprisonment; partly to the solemn manner in which oaths are administered, and trials and executions conducted; and partly to the general sobriety of manners produced by the care which parents and ministers take to instruct the rising generation.” There were but fifty-four executions in all Scotland during the thirteen years and a half preceding Mr. Howard’s visit.

The laws of Scotland are much milder in regard to debtors than those of England. There a creditor is not allowed to put a debtor in prison, unless he has good reason to believe he is acting fraudulently ; and when he does put him in confinement, he is obliged to maintain him.

The latter part of this year Mr. Howard spent in London, inspecting the numerous prisons of the metropolis, and the *hulks* on the Thames (which are prison-ships somewhat on the plan of the galleys abroad), and at the same time preparing his papers for publication, with the assistance of those friends to whom he had before applied. When ready to begin the printing, he went to Warrington, where he employed the same printer as before, and had the same kind friend to help him correct his proof-sheets.

Whilst printing his book, he made an excursion to Liverpool in order to ascertain some particulars of the prison there, and to see a new bridewell lately erected, and intended by the legislature to be of the best construction ; but here our philanthropist had the pain of finding the *execution* of the plan fall far short of his *intention*. As one instance out of many, the following may be cited. Baths had been ordered, with a view to promote cleanliness, and to

preserve the health of the prisoners ; but this use of them was perverted to the exercise of a wanton and dangerous severity. A long pole, with a chair fastened to one extremity, was made to balance on a standard erected near the cold bath ; and female prisoners, as soon as they were admitted, were placed in this chair with nothing but a flannel gown on, and then thoroughly ducked at the pleasure of their tormentors. This barbarous ducking was thrice repeated. As a proof of the wantonness of this practice, it was only inflicted on the female prisoners, and the place of performance was the court of the male prisoners. There also the weekly discipline of whipping was performed, the women as well as the men being tied to a pump in the same court to receive the lash. These inhuman practices must have roused the indignation, as well as pity, of the philanthropist ; and we find that after his visit the ducking was abolished, though we do not know what measures he took to accomplish that desirable end.

Whilst in Liverpool at this time, the Corporation *presented* Mr. Howard with *the freedom of the city*, which is a mode of complimenting eminent men, frequently practised in England. The freedom of a city, or town corporate, denotes the

right of exercising any trade or employment there, and of being eligible to its offices and dignities. This right is variously procured by the inhabitants, but most commonly by serving an apprenticeship. Being highly valued by them, the conferring it on a stranger is considered the greatest compliment they can bestow. The title to it is sometimes enclosed in a gold box, when presented to the person so honored; and this is what is meant when we see in English newspapers that the freedom of a certain city was presented in a *gold box* to some distinguished person.

Two months after his return from Liverpool, Mr. Howard's second work was completed for publication. It was a quarto volume of two hundred pages with the modest title of "Appendix to the State of the Prisons in England and Wales, &c. By John Howard, F. R. S., containing a further Account of Foreign Prisons and Hospitals, with additional Remarks on the Prisons of this Country." He took for his motto, the admirable inscription in the hospital of St. Michael at Rome, which so well expressed his own views of the proper object of prison discipline. This book was illustrated by seven copperplate engravings, which were at that time very

expensive additions to a work ; these were presented to the public by Mr. Howard, as he chose to fix the price of his book too low to pay for them ; wishing to do good by its wide circulation, not to make money by its sale. With the same view to extend the information he had obtained with so much pains, he remained some time longer at Warrington, to superintend the printing of a cheaper edition of his former work, which was republished, in octavo, with all the new matter of the Appendix, incorporated into the body of it. This is also the case with the later quarto editions.

The valuable information on the subject of foreign hospitals, contained in the Appendix, is thus noticed by a medical gentleman well qualified to appreciate it.

“The tours now before us,” says Dr. Aikin, “were rendered richer in utility by the comprehension of another great object, that of hospitals. To these institutions of humanity, Mr. Howard had long been attached ; he had been a promoter of them, and attentive to their improvement ; and in his journeys through this kingdom, he had seldom failed to visit the hospitals and infirmaries, situated in our principal towns. He had also, in his first publication taken cur-

sory notice of a few which he saw abroad. But he now made them an avowed object of his examination ; a circumstance, it may be supposed, not a little pleasing to his medical friends. For, although the knowledge, collected by a professional man with similar opportunities, would doubtless have been more applicable to the purposes of science, yet matter of fact, accurately stated by a sensible observer, must ever have its value. Besides where can we expect to see the spirit and qualities of a Howard, united, in one of our profession, with his fortune and leisure ? ”

We will close this account of Mr. Howard's writings with a few extracts from his “ Conclusion.”

“ A person of more ability, with my knowledge of facts, would have written better ; but the object of my ambition was not the fame of an author. Hearing the *cry* of the *miserable*, I devoted my time to their relief. In order to procure it, I made it my business to collect materials, the authenticity of which could not be disputed. For the warmth of some expressions, where my subject obliges me to complain, and for my eagerness to remove the several grievances, my apology must be drawn from the deep *distress* of the *sufferers*, and the impression the view of it

made upon me ; an impression too deep to be effaced by any length of time ! ”

It was Mr. Howard's intention to retire immediately after the publication of his Appendix “to the tranquil enjoyment of that easy competence a kind Providence had bestowed upon him ; happy in the idea that he had in some degree been the instrument of alleviating the sufferings of a numerous and unhappy set of people, and had excited the attention of his countrymen to an important object of civil policy.” But the resolution he had thus formed “of resigning all further public concern in this matter, was broken in upon,” as he himself informs us, “by the urgent persuasions of some who were pleased to think me a proper person to assist in the superintendence of one of those great and useful plans which I had recommended to the notice of the public. I was the more readily induced to comply with their solicitations from a confidence that the persons associated with me had the same general ideas with myself, respecting the execution of the proposed plan, and would coöperate in it with the greatest zeal and intelligence. It remains now to be tried, how far the wise and humane intentions of the legislature can be accomplished in this country ;

and in what degree we can avail ourselves of those lights, which it was the particular purpose of my foreign journeys to collect."

An act of Parliament for establishing Penitentiary Houses had been passed in 1779, on which much thought and labor had been bestowed by men of great ability. This act provides for the appointment of three *supervisors* to superintend the erection of buildings. "The whole Kingdom," says one of his biographers,* "would naturally turn its eyes on Mr. Howard as the first person whose services ought to be engaged on this occasion ; but it was not an easy task to obtain his acquiescence. Among other objections, his extreme delicacy with respect to pecuniary emolument stood in his way ; and even the moderate salary annexed to his office, seemed to him scarcely compatible with the absolute disinterestedness of conduct he had maintained and was determined to preserve, during the whole of his labors. At length, however, the solicitations of his friends, particularly of the late Sir William Blackstone, the great promoter of the design, together with a consciousness of the service he might render the public in this station, overcame his reluctance."

* Dr. Aikin.

Having stipulated, as the condition of his acceptance of the office, that his highly valued friend Dr. Fothergill should be one of his associates, and having resolved to take no salary for himself, he consented to be appointed one of the three supervisors. Mr. Whately was the third. Two penitentiary houses were to be built for the metropolis, and the first point to be decided, was where they should be situated. Various places were proposed, and Mr. Howard visited them and duly considered all the circumstances favorable and unfavorable belonging to each. At last after mature deliberation he and Dr. Fothergill came to the conclusion that Islington was the most eligible spot for their purpose. Mr. Whately however gave the preference to Lime-house; and to this man's obstinate perseverance in his choice, were sacrificed the services of our philanthropist. By the death-bed advice of Sir William Blackstone, the two friends adhered to their opinion; but the opposition to them was continued throughout the year 1780, at the end of which Dr. Fothergill died, and Mr. Howard resigned.

No obstacle now appeared to stand between Mr. Howard and the enjoyment of that retirement, to which he had long looked forward,

CHAPTER X.

**TRAVELS IN DENMARK, SWEDEN, AND RUSSIA —
PUNISHMENT OF THE KNOOT — SEMINARY FOR
FEMALES — GOLD MEDAL — 1781.**

AN intimate friend of Mr. Howard's has said of him, that "it was a leading feature of his character, not to be content with any thing short of the greatest perfection which every object of his pursuit was capable of obtaining." This principle, applied to the great cause which had so long engrossed his attention, led him to the contemplation, not of the much that he had accomplished, but of the vast regions of the civilized globe which he had not explored. Accustomed as he had long been, to find his chief happiness in the performance of duty, all the comforts and social privileges of his agreeable residence at Cardington could not detain him from the field of labor which lay before him, and to which his sense of duty pointed. To those who knew him intimately it was therefore no surprise to learn, in the summer of 1781, that he was set out on a tour to the capitals of Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland.

Passing through a part of Holland and Germany, on his way to Denmark, he visited many places in those countries which he had not before seen, and carried on in each his system of minute investigation and careful notation ; but the mixture of good and evil was so much like what we have already noticed, that the details would 'not be interesting to the general reader. In the Danish dominions however were some novelties, connected with Mr. Howard's pursuit, well worthy of a few minutes' attention.

The first of these that struck the traveller's eye, on entering most of the towns, was a whipping-post erected on some conspicuous spot, and on it, the figure of a man with a sword by his side, and a whip in his hand ; another was the *punishment* of leading a criminal through the streets between two soldiers, with something like an inverted tub having a hole in the bottom, through which the head passes, resting on his shoulders and reaching as low as his knees. This awkward and heavy contrivance is strangely enough called a *Spanish mantle*. Mr. Howard measured one of them and found the part that rested on the shoulders was one foot eight inches in diameter, and the lower part was about three feet across. He says, " This kind of punishment

is very much dreaded, and is one cause that night robberies are never heard of in Copenhagen."

The common mode of execution in Denmark was *decollation*, and it was considered more honorable to be beheaded by the sword than the axe. For heinous crimes, the savage practice of breaking on the wheel was still resorted to; but executions of any kind were rare. Whipping, banishment, and slavery were the punishments in common use there. In visiting the state prison, Mr. Howard observed the closeness of its cells, and heard that state prisoners were not allowed any court, nor any fresher air than came to them, through the very small windows of their apartments. It is told of a certain Count Struensee, who had been confined three months in one of those close places, that when led out to execution, though a terrible death was before him, he exclaimed, "O what a blessing is fresh air!"

The care taken of the sick and the poor, in Copenhagen, did great credit to the humanity of those in power, and furnished the benevolent traveller with some useful hints. Of his own personal deprivations whilst in these regions, we shall presently hear, in a letter written from Moscow, where they are slightly touched upon ;

but having very few particulars of the philanthropist's travels except what he gives in his notes and letters, we know very little of his personal adventures. He was too intently occupied with the great cause of humanity, to dwell on circumstances that related chiefly to himself; and Thomasson's character was not such as to make the rough journal he kept of much value in these respects.

Crossing the Sound at Elsinour, Mr. Howard proceeded across the country to Stockholm. He found the houses by the way much cleaner than those of Denmark, and hoped therefore to find the prisons in a better state also; but in this he was disappointed; they were as dirty and offensive as those of the neighbouring country. The general mode of execution was by the axe. Women were beheaded on a scaffold, which was afterwards set on fire at the four corners, and consumed with the body. All torture had been lately abolished. Mr. Howard attended several trials in one of the courts of justice, which he thus describes.

“The Burgomaster, with his gold chain, was seated at one end of a table, and on each side four or five other magistrates. The manner of swearing a witness was by requesting him to put

two fingers on a Bible, and to pronounce the words of the oath deliberately after the Burgomaster. In civil causes both plaintiffs and defendants presented memorials, and some were allowed counsel. In a prosecution of a man for beating his wife, I observed that one of the senior magistrates pleaded the wife's cause, and then withdrew with the parties concerned in the prosecution. The Judge, having consulted a book of laws, called them in again, and after hearing the law read, and the sentence pronounced, they bowed and departed at different doors. I observed, in petty disputes, a reconciliation so hearty sometimes taking place, that the contending parties shook hands, and went off together shedding tears of joy."

In the hospitals of both Copenhagen and Stockholm the floors were strewed with the young shoots of either the spruce fir, or the juniper tree, with a mistaken view to prevent infection.

By what route, our traveller passed from Sweden to Russia, is not known, but we next hear of him entering Petersburg on foot. The name of Howard was now so well known throughout Europe, that it was necessary for the bearer of it to take some precautions, if he wished to see

prisons and hospitals in their ordinary state, and not specially prepared for his reception. Accordingly on approaching Petersburg, he alighted from his carriage and walked quietly into the city, hoping to remain unknown whilst prosecuting his investigations. His arrival was however immediately known to the Empress, who despatched a messenger to him with permission to present himself at her court. Of this offer however he never availed himself. He even told the bearer of the royal permission, which was generally considered as a command and obeyed as such, that he was devoted to visiting the prisons of the miserable, not the palaces of kings.

The Empress Catharine II. reigned at this time over Russia, and in the modern capital of her dominions, numerous rising institutions showed that the spirit of improvement was still alive, which had, within a few years, called this magnificent city into existence. Mr. Howard devoted himself with peculiar assiduity to the inspection of the prisons and hospitals in Petersburg, visiting them all repeatedly and making his notes with great care, because he had been assured, by the first man in the Empire, that whatever account of them was printed in England, would certainly be translated into the Russian

language ; and he found enough of useless suffering and bad management, in the prisons of that city, to make him very desirous that a statement of them should be made known.

The Russians often boast that they have no capital punishment, in their country, for any crime but high treason ; but the common punishment of the *knot* is often dreaded more than death, and a criminal, condemned to suffer it, has been known to bribe the executioner to kill him instead. The *knot* seldom causes immediate death, but death is often the consequence of it. The *knot* is a whip, consisting of a wooden handle a foot long, and several thongs about two feet in length twisted together, to the end of which is fastened a single tough thong a foot and a half in length, tapering towards a point, and capable of being changed by the executioner, when too much softened by the blood of the criminal. Mr. Howard forced himself to witness the infliction of this severe punishment on two criminals, a man and a woman, that he might see and know the exact nature of it. After some details too painful to quote, he thus speaks of it. "The woman received twenty-five strokes and the man sixty, on their naked backs. Both seemed but just alive after it, especially the man, who yet

had strength enough to receive a small donation with some signs of gratitude. They were conducted back to prison in a little wagon. I saw the woman in a very weak condition some days after, but could not find the man any more."

Suspecting that this severe infliction of the *knot* frequently occasioned the death of the victim, and that it was sometimes intended to produce this effect, Mr. Howard determined if possible to find out the truth about it; so, taking a hackney-coach, he drove one day to the house of the executioner employed to inflict this punishment. "The man was astonished and alarmed to see any person, having the appearance of a gentleman, enter his door, which was precisely the state of mind, his visitor wished to find him in; and he endeavoured to increase his confusion by the tone, aspect, and manner which he assumed. Acting therefore as though he had authority to examine him, he told him that if his answers to the questions he should propose, were conformable to truth, he had nothing to fear. He accordingly promised that they should be so. Then Mr. Howard asked, "Can you inflict the *knot* in such a manner as to occasion death in a short time?" "Yes, I can," was the

answer. "In how short a time?" "In a day or two." "Have you ever so inflicted it?" "Yes, the last man who was punished with my hands, by the *knot*, died of the punishment." "In what manner do you thus render it mortal?" "By one or more strokes on the sides, which carry off large pieces of flesh." "Do you receive orders thus to inflict the punishment?" "I do." At the close of this curious dialogue, Mr. Howard left the executioner, fully satisfied that the honor of abolishing capital punishments did not belong to the Russian Empress; but that a cruel, lingering, and private death had been substituted for a sudden and public one."

The throne of the Russian despots being upheld by military force, all power in Russia has a military aspect; even the prisons are not kept by regular gaolers, but are under a military guard. This type of absolute monarchy, together with the slavery of the peasants and servants to the land-owners, who are the nobility of the Empire, grated harshly on the feelings of an Englishman. The lords of the soil are allowed to inflict on their bondmen, any corporal punishment, or to banish them to Siberia, on giving notice to the police of their offence. They are not at liberty to put them to death, but should

the severity of their punishment prove fatal, their owners know how to avoid any evil consequences to themselves, the penalty of the law being easily evaded. Under such a government, and in such a state of society, the reformation of prisoners was little thought of, and the state of the numerous prisons in Petersburg was such as to shock the feelings of their benevolent visitor.

The hospitals were far better regulated, being for the most part clean and airy ; but of all the charitable institutions of Petersburg, the most remarkable and peculiar was that founded by the Empress Catharine the Second, for the education of the *female nobility* of Russia, and a limited number of the children of *commoners*. It is a stately pile of buildings, situated on a rising ground, at a little distance from the city, on the south side of the river Neva. The sleeping-rooms and dining-halls in these buildings are remarkably lofty and airy, having large galleries round them ; and adjoining to the buildings are spacious gardens and lawns which extend to the banks of the river. Of this flourishing institution, Mr. Howard obtained the following interesting particulars.

“ The children are admitted between five and six years of age, and continued on the estab-

lishment twelve years. They are divided into classes according to their ages, *four* of nobles with fifty in each class, and *four* of commoners with seventy in each class. In every third year, on the birth-day of the Empress, fifty children of the nobility, and seventy of the commoners are taken in to replace the same number discharged.

“ Before they rise every morning the windows of the rooms are thrown open to purify them with fresh air.

“ The *first* class, dressed in brown and consisting of children of the youngest ages, rise at seven in winter and at six in summer. After being washed and attending prayers, they are taken into the garden, where they breakfast and play about in the coldest weather till nine. During their first year, each of them is allowed for breakfast, a small loaf of white bread, and a glass of milk and water. At nine they are called back to the house, and from this hour to eleven are employed in learning the French and Russian languages, and in knitting, sewing, &c.; but care is taken to render all the instruction they receive agreeable, nothing being taught in this establishment by compulsion. Twice in the week they receive lessons in dancing; and this

is a part of education common to all the classes, and never discontinued, because reckoned conducive to health. After eleven, they return to their play in the garden till noon, at which time they are called to dinner, which consists of soup, vegetables, &c. For some months at first they are allowed meat; but they are gradually weaned from it, till at last, while in this and the next class, it comes to be entirely withheld from them except in soups, in order to cure them of some cutaneous disorders, to which at this age they are subject, and also to prepare them for passing with less danger through the whooping-cough, meazles, and small-pox. After dinner they return to the garden, and at four have a repast similar to that in the morning, viz. a loaf of bread and a glass of water. Here they continue to divert themselves, till at seven they are called to supper, which consists in winter of dried fruit, milk, and grain; and in summer of preparations of milk and some provisions from the garden. It may be proper to add, that they read and write standing, and are not allowed to sit down, except to needle-work. In consequence of this management, and of living so much in the air, and being used to exercise and cleanliness, and a simple diet, they are seldom known to take cold;

and become capable of bearing the severest weather of that climate without receiving any harm, their clothing being only a short wadded cloak, whilst others are loaded with furs.

“The *second* class, dressed in blue, enter it about eight years of age, and are obliged to apply more closely to writing, drawing, dancing, &c.”

“The *third* class, dressed in grey, enter it at eleven or twelve years of age. They rise at five in the summer and six in winter, but are called to the house after breakfasting in the garden, an hour sooner than the children in the first and second classes, because more time is wanted in instructing and improving them. They are now taught, besides drawing, dancing, turning,* needle-work, &c., vocal and instrumental music. They are allowed a ball and concert every week ; and a taste for books is inspired by putting them upon copying and reciting select passages from the best authors.

“The *fourth* class, dressed in white, enter it at fourteen or fifteen years of age. They are taught tambour-work, house-keeping, the man-

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- * The young ladies presented their English visitor with a curious piece of their turning in ivory, which he carried home with him to Cardington and placed in his favorite root-house.

agement of a family, &c., and initiated into history, geography, and natural philosophy. In order to acquire a just elocution, and to exercise themselves in politeness and vocal and instrumental music, they occasionally give balls and operas to company from Petersburg.

“The children of nobility are distinguished from the children of commoners only by wearing a finer camlet of the colors appropriated to the different classes; and as far as diet, exercise, regimen, &c. are concerned, the method of managing them is the same; but the instruction given to the latter is confined to needle-work, house-keeping, and such other occupations and improvements as are suitable to the walks of life for which they are intended.

“The children on this foundation enjoy, as might be expected, an uncommon degree of health. Of fifty-one children of nobility, admitted in 1764 (when it was founded), and fifty admitted in 1767, and fifty-two in 1770, none had died in 1781.”

Mr. Howard was gratified by finding in Petersburg many public-spirited and benevolent persons, who gave their money freely to its youthful institutions, some of which had been founded and endowed by private individuals. One

gentleman in particular, General Bulgarkow, had enlarged the means of many very useful charities; but his munificence had been especially exercised towards a large seminary for the education of young ladies without fortune. A public Society in Russia, testified their high sense of the General's patriotism and benevolence by presenting him with a gold medal. On receiving it, he compared his small services, confined as they were to his own country, with those of the English traveller who had extended his humanity to all nations; and declaring that the philanthropist of the world was alone worthy of this distinction, he sent the medal to Mr. Howard.

CHAPTER XI.

JOURNEY TO MOSCOW — LETTER TO MR. SMITH —
WARSAW — ANECDOTE OF MR. HOWARD AND A
PRUSSIAN COURIER — ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND —
A FOURTH GENERAL INSPECTION OF BRITISH
PRISONS — DUTCH PRISONERS OF WAR AT
SHREWSBURY — 1782.

WHEN ready to quit Petersburg, Mr. Howard was attacked by a fit of ague, but he would not suffer it to delay his journey. Moscow, the ancient capital of Russia, was his next destination. The distance he had to travel was five hundred miles, over roads that were intolerably bad, and not very safe from robbers; yet he refused an offer of a military escort pressed upon him by the Russian government; and set out on his dreary journey, accompanied only by his servant, in a light travelling carriage of the country, which he bought for the purpose. He accomplished the distance in less than five days and nights, never stopping to rest, or taking his clothes off by the way, but pursuing his course with relays of horses, and sleeping in his carriage, when the roughness of the roads would

permit. At the end of one of the stages, when the post-boys had driven remarkably well, Mr. Howard offered them a sum in Russian currency, equal to half a dollar of our money, instead of the usual fee of a few cents. The poor fellows were alarmed at such unprecedented generosity, and refused the gift ; but the traveller told them he had committed his life to their skill and care, and they had performed so well, that they were entitled to it and must accept it, which after some hesitation they did.

Mr. Howard was very favorably impressed with the faithfulness of the Russian boors, as the peasantry are called, to any trust committed to them. On his way to Moscow, he met with a young lady on a journey of several hundred miles, under the protection of a Siberian peasant, to whose care she was confided, and who, he was convinced from the attention he paid her, would sooner lose his life than she should receive any injury by the way. "We," said Mr. Howard in relating this anecdote to a female friend, "call such persons savages ; but in this respect they are not to be compared with some of our own people."

In the course of this journey, though he delayed not an hour for rest or refreshment, he visited

several prisons by the way, taking note of the captive's woe, in rooms so offensive, that a medical gentleman who was there, refused to accompany him into a second one. In all these places of confinement, he found much to deplore, for the savage treatment of prisoners corresponded with the uncivilized state of the country ; but as new prisons were building, and a spirit of improvement was abroad in this great empire, he hoped that his investigations and future publication of what he witnessed, would eventually do much good, and this hope cheered him on his way through these inhospitable regions. At Moscow, he found the prison discipline equally bad, nothing done to reform delinquents and every thing to torment and punish them. Their pale and sickly countenances spoke their misery and oppression. They had no allowance, were half naked, and subsisted entirely on charitable donations, which they were allowed to spend only for bread, apples, and sour beer.

The chief fault of the hospitals of Moscow was their being kept too close. Whilst walking through the military hospital with its physician, Mr. Howard could not refrain from throwing open some of the windows, which, in a few minutes, did more to purify the room than all

the sprigs of fir, with which the floor was plentifully strewed. In the garden of this hospital, he met with a wooden building for drying herbs, the completest of the kind he had ever seen, and his fondness for horticulture and botany made it sufficiently interesting, to induce him to get a drawing made of it to carry home with him.

Whilst in Moscow, Mr. Howard addressed the following letter to his friend and pastor Mr. Smith; and as he had a great dislike to letter-writing, he wished his communications to one friend to serve as a general epistle to all the rest at Bedford and Cardington.

“Moscow, Sept. 7, 1781.

“Dear Sir,

“I am persuaded a line will not be unacceptable even from such a vagrant. I have unremittingly pursued the object of my journey; and have looked into no palaces, nor seen any curiosities, so my letters can afford little entertainment to my friends. I stayed above three weeks at Petersburg. I declined every honor that was offered me, and when pressed to have a soldier to accompany me, I declined that also. Yet I fought my way pretty well, five hundred miles of bad roads, in less than five days. I have a strong, yet light and easy carriage, which I happily

bought for fifty rubles. This city is situated in a fine plain totally different from all others, as each house has a garden which extends the city eight or ten miles, so that four and six horses are common in the streets ; I content myself with a pair, though I think I have driven to-day near twenty miles to see one prison and one hospital. I am told sad stories of what I am to suffer by the cold, yet I will not leave this city till I have made repeated visits to the prisons and hospitals, as the first man in the kingdom assured me my publication would be translated into Russian. My next step is for Warsaw, seven or eight hundred miles ; every step being homeward, I have spirit to encounter it, though through the worst country in Europe. I bless God I am well, with calm, easy spirits. I had a fit of the ague a day or two before I set out from Petersburg ; but I travelled it off, the nights last week being warm.

“ I thought I could live where any men did live ; but this northern journey, especially in Sweden, I have been pinched ; no fruit, no garden-stuffs ; sour bread, sour milk. In this city I have every luxury, even pine-apples and *potatoes*.

“ Baron Dimsdale and his lady will be on their return about my time ; we propose meeting at Berlin, but I am under a promise to visit Professor Camper and Mr. Hope in Holland, who has sent me an order to see the prisoners of war, so that I cannot accompany them. I must also review some places in Flanders before I return ; a line to the post-house at Amsterdam would be a cordial to me. I have no time yet to write to John Prole ; please to acquaint my boy I am well and will write to him from Warsaw. I hope Mrs. Smith has any thing she chooses out of my garden. Remember me to our friends,” &c.

Mr. Howard performed in health and safety his wearisome journey from Moscow to Warsaw, but in the capital city of unhappy Poland he found no relief to his feelings. The gaols were dirty, crowded, ill-regulated, guarded by soldiers instead of gaolers ; the spin-houses, falsely so called, were scenes of idleness instead of industry ; and even the hospitals were ill-conducted and offensive. The only redeeming point in these scenes of wretchedness were the kind offices of the nuns, called *sisters of charity*. They went about doing all the good they could ; but where the whole system is so bad as it was

in Warsaw, the patients could reap but little benefit even from their benevolent exertions. In Silesia these things were rather better managed ; and in the dominions of the absolute Frederick all places of confinement were, as he had before observed, far better regulated.

Whilst travelling in the King of Prussia's dominions, an incident occurred which, though trifling in itself, shows the determined spirit of the traveller, and makes us wish that more of his personal adventures had been rescued from oblivion. If his man Thomasson had had the ready wit and ready pen of the attendants of some more recent travellers, we might have had a much more entertaining narrative of the philanthropist's foreign tours.

Travelling post in his own carriage, he came to a very narrow piece of road, where it was impossible for two vehicles to pass each other ; there was therefore an injunction at each end of this road, that postillions on entering it should blow their horns, by way of notice to other travellers not to enter at the same time. Mr. Howard's postillion did so ; but after proceeding a good way, they met a courier travelling on the king's business who had neglected this precaution. The courier ordered Mr. Howard's postillion to

turn back ; but Mr. Howard remonstrated, saying that he had complied with the rule, while the other had violated it, and therefore that he should insist on going forward. The courier, relying on his importance as a king's messenger, to whose authority in this country every thing must yield, made use of high words, and seemed bent on having his own way. But it was all in vain. As neither was disposed to give up the point, they sat still a long time in their respective carriages ; at length the courier gave up his unjust claim to the sturdy Englishman, who had right on his side, and Mr. Howard proceeded on his journey.

In many towns of Holland, he found prisons containing but one or two prisoners, and in some instances quite empty ; this he attributes in a great measure to the well-ordered houses of correction, which, by reforming criminals, lessen the amount of crime. Passing through the Netherlands, Mr. Howard embarked at Ostend for his native country, where he landed in December, 1781, having travelled in this foreign tour four thousand four hundred and sixty-five miles.

Arriving at home, at the beginning of the Christmas holidays, Mr. Howard had his child's

company for a few weeks, and they divided the time between London and Cardington. His inducement to visit the metropolis at this time, was to see the new prisons which had been erected in the place of those destroyed by the populace in the dreadful riots of 1780. Hoping that so excellent an opportunity for improving the construction of the prisons, would not be lost, and that some of his humane suggestions had been attended to, he visited the new buildings ; but though something was done to improve them, his reasonable expectations were in a great measure disappointed. New and expensive structures had been reared, on very defective plans, notwithstanding all he had said and written on the subject ; still he was not discouraged or depressed. He had done his whole duty to the best of his ability, and with that he had the wisdom to be content. The happiness which arises from a strict and conscientious discharge of duty, is beyond the power of outward circumstances. The man that has earned it, must enjoy it ; nothing can deprive him of it ; but that which depends upon results, is liable to be destroyed by a thousand contingencies over which the person most interested may have no power. The

equanimity of Mr. Howard's mind on this occasion shows where his happiness was placed.

His attention was now engaged by new arrangements for the completion of his son's education. He was naturally very desirous of giving his child those advantages of which he had himself felt the want, and he had at one time nearly made up his mind to send him to the great public school at Eton ; but on conversing with the head master, and finding that no effectual care was extended to the morals of the scholars, and that there was no provision for their religious improvement, he renounced the idea. After consulting with those friends on whose judgment he could best rely, Mr. Howard determined on placing his son at a private school in Nottingham, which was highly recommended on every account. He carried him thither, and, having spent two days with him in his new abode, committed him to the care of its master, the Rev. Mr. Walker, and resumed his philanthropic labors among the gaols of his own country.

It almost wears out the patience of the reader, to find this indefatigable man setting out afresh upon a fourth general inspection of all the gaols, penitentiaries, and hospitals of the United Kingdom, yet such was his course, and well was it

for suffering humanity, that he did not grow weary in well-doing. As long as there were thousands of his fellow creatures, suffering hopeless misery which his labors might mitigate, and wronged by a false system which his representations might do away, he felt no liberty to cease from working in the holy cause, for such it was to him. He had devoted himself to the relief of this class of sufferers, he was remarkably qualified for the task, and he felt bound to its performance.

We need not follow him in his oft-repeated visits to the scenes of woe, but we cannot refuse the tribute of our admiration to his perseverance. One new object claimed his attention in his Irish tour, and being one full of grievances and abuses, he applied himself diligently to it.

A society had been formed and incorporated, for the purpose of establishing schools in various parts of Ireland, where children should be lodged, boarded, and educated gratis, for the sake of bringing them up in the Protestant religion. Large sums were subscribed, the schools were organized, and flourishing reports were made of their success and the number of children educated. But on examining into these Protestant establishments, Mr. Howard found the number

to be a third less than was represented, and the children, that were considered the favored objects of this bounty, were sickly, naked, and half-starved. So deplorable was their condition, that in his opinion nothing short of a thorough parliamentary inquiry could remedy the evil; and he resolved to suggest this measure in his next publication, and to offer some hints for the improvement of such institutions.

Whilst in Dublin at this time, he received from the University the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, a tribute of gratitude from that warm-hearted people, which gave him real pleasure.

Returning through Wales to England, and pursuing at Shrewsbury his usual course of investigation, he heard that there was a *dépôt* of prisoners of war in that town, and found three hundred and thirty-eight Dutch prisoners, well lodged in a new and spacious building, temporarily devoted to this purpose. Most of them were without shoes and stockings, having received no supply from their government, as the French and Spanish prisoners had from theirs. Mr. Howard learned from the surgeon who attended them, that a subscription had been set on foot, for the purpose of supplying them with necessary

clothing, and a large sum had been expended ; but the commissary had forbidden the articles so purchased to be given them, because he hoped, by keeping them destitute, to compel them to enter the English navy, for which purpose he had an officer in readiness to receive them. Such a tale as this aroused all the energies of the philanthropist. He went directly to the gentleman who had the management of the fund, added to it ten guineas, and desired him to apply to him for further aid if necessary. From this person he learned that all access to the prisoners was denied ; but Mr. Howard was furnished with orders from the proper authorities for his admission into every part of the prison, and his own weight of character did the rest. He ordered the clothing that had been bought for the prisoners to be carried to the prison the next morning, when he was himself on the spot. The commissary dared not resist him ; he had all the poor Dutchmen assembled, and distributed to them the various articles they stood in need of ; after which he warned them very solemnly against proving traitors to their country, and told them that if any of them could so far forget their duty as to enter the English navy, he would take care that their names should

be transmitted to Holland, where if taken they would meet with the punishment due to traitors. He charged the petty officers among them to see that the clothing he had distributed was properly applied, and gave to each a small gratuity to quicken their vigilance. Having done all he proposed, he dismissed the assembly which he had convened by his sole authority, and thus ended at once a heavy grievance which none else dared attempt to remove. In his own account of the Dutch prisoners at Shrewsbury, he makes no mention of this transaction; he merely says they were clothed by a subscription.

We are fortunate enough to find another anecdote of this remarkable man saved from oblivion by an inhabitant* of Shrewsbury, who relates it nearly in the following manner. Among the Dutch prisoners, whose distress Mr. Howard was the chief instrument in relieving, was one of a singularly benevolent character. He was extremely attentive to those of his fellow captives who were ill, sitting up with them at night, administering their medicines, praying by them, and, in short, discharging, in a very rational and consistent manner, the offices of a nurse and

* Mr. Wood's Letter to the Editor of the Monthly Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 339.

spiritual physician. Mr. Howard was much struck with the conduct and conversation of this kindred spirit, and naturally felt a desire to make his temporary confinement as comfortable as it could well be. In answer to Mr. Howard's repeated inquiry how he could serve him, this modest, but interesting prisoner told him, that when the necessities of his fellow-sufferers were provided for, he should feel no want, nor regret the deprivation of those little indulgences which he could not expect in his present situation. At length however this friend of the captive drew from him a confession, that when at home, his greatest enjoyment was to partake of a comfortable dish of tea with his wife and family. About a week after this, the gentleman, upon whose authority this anecdote is related, received a letter from Mr. Howard informing him that he had consigned a parcel to his care, which he requested him to deliver to the Dutch sailor. That parcel contained a small loaf of sugar, and a pound of tea; and that nothing might be wanting to enable the poor fellow to enjoy his favorite beverage, these were accompanied by a tin kettle and the other necessary apparatus.

The whole of this year was consumed in this fourth inspection of prisons, &c. in his native

land, and whilst he was thus assiduously collecting fresh materials, he had the satisfaction to observe, that the legislators of his country were making the use he desired of his former publications. The attention of Parliament was directed to the subject of prison discipline, and the whole nation was aroused to a sense of its importance, and the defects which called loudly for a remedy. That his philanthropic exertions began to be understood and appreciated, may be inferred from the following panegyric pronounced upon him in a speech made by the celebrated orator, Mr. Burke, before his constituents at Bristol. After quoting Mr. Howard to justify himself in having voted in favor of a bill for the relief of debtors, he thus proceeded :

“ I cannot name this gentleman without remarking that his labors and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has visited all Europe, not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples ; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosity of modern art ; not to collect medals or to collate manuscripts ; — but to dive into the depths of dungeons ; to plunge into the infection of hospitals ; to survey the mansions of

sorrow and pain ; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt ; to remember the forgotten ; to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and compare and collate the distresses of all men of all countries. His plan is original, and it is full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery ; a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of his labor is felt more or less in every country. I hope he will anticipate his final reward, by seeing all its effects fully realized in his own. He will receive, not by retail but in gross, the reward of those who visit the prisoner ; and he has so forestalled and monopolized this branch of charity, that there will be, I trust, little room to merit by such acts of benevolence hereafter."

CHAPTER XII.

MR. HOWARD'S FIFTH FOREIGN TOUR OF INSPECTION — PORTUGUESE CONVICTS ON PAROLE — SPAIN — PRISONS OF THE INQUISITION — LETTER FROM PAMPLONA — PARIS — ILLNESS AT LILLE — RETURN TO ENGLAND — VISIT TO IRELAND WITH HIS SON — 1783.

HAVING closed his labors with the closing year, Mr. Howard spent a month at Cardington; but even then he was revolving in his mind new plans, and contemplating new fields of labor. Two southern kingdoms of Europe were still unexplored; and though civil despotism and religious bigotry rendered Spain and Portugal less hopeful regions than those he had already visited, something might be learnt from them, and therefore he was resolved to make the trial.

Twenty-seven years had elapsed since the earthquake at Lisbon had tempted him to embark for that place. The imposing spectacle of a great city in ruins was then his attraction, and the gratification of an innocent curiosity was the end he proposed; he now went to search out the more hidden misery of his fellow creatures, and

with the far higher aim of performing an urgent and peculiar duty. A comparison between the ruling motives of a man's conduct at different periods of his life, is a key to the progress of his Christian character, and we here see the growth of our philanthropist's.

He embarked at Falmouth for Lisbon, and had a safe and prosperous voyage. His researches in Portugal convinced him that in some respects this country was before his own. He found no debtors among the prisoners, imprisonment for debt having been abolished for several years. In a prison, containing no less than seven hundred and seventy-four persons, none were in irons. The entire separation of male and female prisoners, on which he had so frequently to insist at home, was here properly attended to. The same bad custom however of detaining prisoners after their trial and acquittal, till certain gaol fees were paid, prevailed here as in England; here however the poor creatures had the hope of being released on the payment of their fees by a charitable society, resembling that of the Brotherhood of Mercy in Italy, and which not only discharged the fees of many, but sent provisions to the prisoners twice a week, and paid great attention to the condemned.

One anecdote which Mr. Howard heard in Lisbon is worthy of note. It being the custom to keep criminals in confinement a long while, both before they were tried and after they were condemned, the gaolers used to have the privilege of letting even capital convicts out upon *parole*. One who had been thus indulged, and had lived for seven years after sentence of death had been pronounced upon him, was working in the country when summoned by his gaoler to return and meet his doom. True to his word, he immediately repaired to the spot where death awaited him; but for this punctual regard to his promise, he received a full pardon.

Deserted children, or those found idle in the streets, were taken up and employed in a manufactory, within one of the prisons; and here Mr. Howard saw above a thousand children spinning, weaving, and making lace and embroidery. The hospitals and infirmaries were generally spacious and well-ordered; and on the whole there was more in Portugal to gratify a philanthropist than could have been expected in a country so ill governed in most other respects.

Mr. Howard entered Spain by Badajoz. He found the country abounding in charitable institutions, and saw very few beggars. In the pris-

ons, he observed one great means of cleanliness and comfort which was so often wanting in those of his own land, plenty of fresh water. In the men's court was generally a fountain or running stream, and corridors around to afford shaded walks. The prisons in the provinces were not so well regulated as in the capital of the kingdom. At Madrid, he found many good institutions, in which the correction as well as punishment of criminals was attended to, and in which young delinquents were trained to industry and good habits. It was in consequence of our traveller being furnished with excellent letters of introduction, that he was allowed to penetrate into the dark recesses of Portuguese and Spanish prisons; for they are not usually accessible to visitors. There were some strong-holds of power, however, which no secular interest, or ministerial favor, could lay open to him; those were the prisons of the Inquisition. He had vainly attempted to gain admittance to that at Lisbon, but was not discouraged from making fresh efforts, to see the one at Madrid. He procured an introduction to the grand Inquisitor, who received him at prayers, at seven o'clock in the morning; when the ceremony was over, he conducted the stranger to the apartment where their

dreaded tribunals are held. It was hung with red, as if to denote their bloody deeds. Over the inquisitor's seat was a crucifix, and before it a table, with two seats for secretaries, and a stool for the prisoner. To no other part of this prison, could he gain any access; but at Valladolid he saw a little further into these places of secret horrors; and he gives the following simple account of his proceedings.

"I was received at the Inquisition prison by two inquisitors, their secretaries and two magistrates, and conducted into several rooms. On the side of one room was the picture of an *Auto de Fe* in 1667, when ninety-seven persons were burnt. At this time the Spanish court resided at Valladolid. The tribunal-room is like that at Madrid, but has an altar, and a door (with three locks) into the secretary's room, over which was inscribed, that the *greater excommunication* was denounced against all strangers who presume to enter. In two other tribunal-rooms were the *insignia* of the inquisition. In a large room, I saw on the floor and shelves many prohibited books, some of which were English; in another room I saw multitudes of crosses, heads, and small pictures. The painted cap was also shown me, and the vestments of the unhappy victims.

After several consultations, I was permitted to go up the private staircase, by which criminals are brought to the tribunal ; this leads to a passage with several doors in it, which I was not permitted to enter. On one of the secretaries telling me that 'none but prisoners ever enter these rooms,' I answered, I would be confined for a month to satisfy my curiosity ; he replied, 'None come out under three years, and they take the oath of secrecy.' I learned by walking in the court and conversing with the inquisitors, that the cells have double doors and are separated by two walls, to prevent prisoners conversing together, and that over the space between the walls there is a sort of chimney or funnel, enclosed at the top but having perforations on the sides, through which some air and a glimmering of light enter. These funnels, the Inquisitors told me, are double-barred, and one of them serves two cells. Both the Inquisitors told me they did not put irons on any of their prisoners. The passages into which some of the cells open have small apertures for the admission of light. In a gloomy area at the back of the prison there is nothing but a great mastiff dog."

Considering that it was the professed object of Howard, to inquire into the severities exercised

on prisoners, and that it was his express purpose to expose them with a view to their being mitigated, it is only surprising that he gained any entrance into the prison of the Inquisition, that dreaded tribunal, which, so far from being influenced by the laws of charity and benevolence, claims to be above all law, human and divine, and seeks to establish the supreme authority of the Roman Catholic church at any expense of human suffering. Secrecy was one of their great engines of power, and therefore they might well bar their doors to such a tell-tale as the English traveller, and it is only remarkable that with his abhorrence of the institution, and his usual freedom of speech, that he did not say any thing, whilst in Spain, which would have consigned him, for the rest of his life, to the dungeons of the Inquisition.

In his notes on this ecclesiastical court, he says, "It is well known that from this court there is no appeal. I need not say how horrid the secrecy and severity of it appear. I could not but observe that even the sight of its walls struck terror into the common people as they passed. It is stiled, by a monstrous abuse of words, the *holy* and *apostolic* court of inquisition."

But wanton cruelties inflicted by man on his fellow beings, were not confined to the prisons of the Inquisition. Many were the horrid dungeons explored by the philanthropist, and numerous ill-regulated gaols and hospitals were visited by him, on his way through Spain. He was struck by some peculiarities, such as the following. Women sentenced to four years imprisonment for slight offences were employed in spinning, and should any man think proper to select one of them as his wife, he was allowed to redeem her from captivity, by marrying her. In the province of Navarre, it was the custom of the viceroy, twice a year, to release any prisoners he pleased; a few years before Mr. Howard's visit, he took it into his head to set them all at liberty.

Pamplona was the last place whose prisons Mr. Howard inspected before he quitted Spain, but whilst taking a few days' rest previous to crossing the Pyrenees into France, he wrote the following letter to his friend Mr. Smith.

“Pamplona, April 17th, 1783.

“Dear Sir,

“I am still in Spain; the manner of travelling with mules is very slow; I was fourteen days between Lisbon and Madrid, four hundred miles.

You carry all your provisions; the luxury of milk with my tea I very seldom could get. I one morning robbed a kid of two cups of its mother's milk; but I bless God I am pure well and in calm spirits. I received the greatest kindness from the Spanish Ambassador at Lisbon, through whose recommendation to Count Campomanes, every prison has been flung open to me. I have a letter to one of the magistrates through every city that I pass. I have been here three days, but must stay a few days longer before I cross the mountains.

"The Spaniards are very sober and very honest; and if he can live sparingly and lie on the floor, a traveller may pass tolerably well through their country. I have come into many an inn and paid only four pence for the *noise*, as they term it, I made in the house, as no bread, eggs, milk, or wine do they sell.

"Peace has not been declared yet; many will hardly believe it. They talk of General Elliot with a spirit of enthusiasm; never were two nations so often at war and individuals have such esteem and complacency one towards another. I travelled some time with an English gentleman, but my stops for the prisons, &c., not being convenient, he went off with his Spanish

servant. I go through Bayonne, stopping only one day, and pitch my tent at Bordeaux where I have much business, some horrid dungeons, &c. I am still in time for my Irish journey in July and August as I promised the Provost, that Parliament meeting in October. I have very little more to do in England before I go to the press, after which I hope to be in comfort at my own fire-side.

“Remember me to Mr. Barham, Gadsby, and our united friends.

“With much esteem I remain

“Your friend and servant,

“JOHN HOWARD.”

“I hope you have fine weather as I have, every shutter open till night. Many towns have not one pane of glass. Thermometer, 68 in the shade.”

About ten days after the date of this letter, the writer had passed the Pyrenees and entered on his painful task at Bordeaux, where the wretched state of the prisons fully justified his expectations. Continuing his journey to the French capital, he was there cheered by finding that two of its worst prisons, with their dismal and unwholesome dungeons, had been entirely demolished, and the *declaration* of the King for this altera-

tion contained, says Mr. Howard, "some of the most humane and enlightened sentiments respecting the conduct of prisons. It mentioned the construction of *airy and spacious* infirmaries for the sick ; *separate places of confinement* and *separate courts* for men and women ; and for prisoners of different classes ; and a *total abolition of under-ground dungeons.*"

Here was a rich reward for the heart of the philanthropist ! The attention of the French monarch was directed to the subject of prison discipline, enlightened sentiments were promulgated by his authority, and two of the worst prisons in the country were demolished. Howard could not but feel that his labors and his writings were instrumental in bringing this about ; and though he was not dependent for his happiness on the result of his actions, he must have rejoiced in this effect of them.

His present stay in Paris was longer than on either of his former visits, and his inspection of prisons more thorough. Since a spirit of improvement had appeared, he was desirous of furnishing all necessary information for it to work upon. One large and well-regulated prison there, was worthy to be held up as a model, and Mr. Howard describes it with evident satisfaction.

When visiting prisons in Catholic countries he was always glad when it chanced to be on any of their fast-days, because his gifts were the more acceptable, as enabling the prisoners to add something to their meagre fare. Being the narrator of his own travels, we hear but little, and that incidentally, of his donations to the objects of his benevolent exertions ; but from the little we can gather on this subject, and from the large sums he expended in his foreign tours, there is every reason to believe that he dispensed his money, as well as his time and strength, with great liberality.

From Paris, this indefatigable traveller went to Lille, and whilst inspecting some very bad prisons was exposed to an infectious fever in one of them. His compassion for those who were suffering under it, in a very close and offensive room, induced him to repeat his visits, in order to administer to their relief; and whilst thus engaged, he himself became a prey to the disorder. He was violently attacked by this malignant fever, and for a short time his life was in great danger; it was however spared for a few more years of usefulness, and his health must soon have been sufficiently restored for him to travel, for in ten days after he was taken ill, we

hear of him going the rounds of prisons and hospitals in Amsterdam. In his book he thus notices his illness at Lille: "I have abundant reason for thankfulness to Divine Providence, for recovering me from a fever which I caught of the sick, in this prison at my last visit." In his private diary, we find this fuller expression of his feelings.

"Record and remember the mercy and goodness of God, for many days I have been in pain and sorrow; the sentence of death was as it were upon me, but I cried unto the Lord and he delivered me. Blessed for ever be the name of the Lord. O God, do my soul good by this affliction; make me more sensible of my entire dependence on Thee; more serious, more humble, more watchful, more abstracted from this world, better prepared to leave it; live a life of faith in the great Redeemer, whom having not seen yet I hope I love, and desire to serve to the end of my life. — J. H."

In the orphan-house at Amsterdam, were one thousand three hundred children of both sexes; but for want of air in the rooms, and personal cleanliness, the poor little creatures were pale and sickly, and many of them victims to cutaneous disorders. When Mr. Howard remon-

strated with the directors of the institution, and pointed out the negligence of certain aged servants, he was coolly answered, "It is the house disorder, all our children must have a seasoning." "Thus," he exclaims, "do the physicians and governors excuse the abuse of their trust; the consequences must be that few of the children reach manhood, and that such as do, are a feeble and sickly race."

After visiting numerous cities in Holland and the Netherlands, we find him once more in Ghent, lamenting over the melancholy change which had taken place in the house of correction there; an institution which he had so much admired in his former visits. When he waited upon the Burgo-master for leave to inspect it, he was told that the Emperor (Joseph the Second) had issued an order, prohibiting any person's entrance there; "But you, sir," said the worthy magistrate, "are an exception to all rules; you must not attribute to me the unhappy changes which you will observe in this prison." He accordingly entered and found the whole aspect of things sadly altered. The useful manufactory, the sight of which had given him so much pleasure a year and a half before, was broken up and the looms were sold; so that four hundred and seventy-six prisoners

did not now earn, one with another, seven farthings each per day. With this reduction in their labor, there was made a corresponding reduction in the quality and quantity of their food. The aspect of the prisoners was entirely changed; so many were sickly, that one quarter of that noble building was about to be fitted up as an infirmary. If any thing had been wanting to convince a person of the excellence of its former regulations, and of the advantage of constant employment for prisoners, the melancholy change in this establishment would be an unanswerable argument. It had been brought about, in consequence of the two hasty compliance of the Emperor Joseph with the petition of a set of interested persons, who declared the manufactory, in the prison, to be injurious to the regular manufacturers in his vast dominions.

Mr. Howard finished at Ostend this fifth foreign tour of inspection, and repaired immediately to Cardington, where he was met by his son and spent with him there about a month. Young Howard's vacation happened to commence, on the day his father returned to England, and as he was not going back to school, he was allowed to accompany him in his Irish tour. Mr. Howard had promised the Irish Provost, to re-inspect

some of the principal gaols previous to the next meeting of the Irish Parliament, and he now hastened to fulfill that engagement. Shocking abuses prevailed in the prisons of Dublin, all of which the philanthropist labored to set forth in the most exact manner, in the hope that these statements would lead to further reform, as his former ones had already begun it.

CHAPTER XIII.

ACCOUNT OF YOUNG HOWARD — HIS BEING PLACED AT EDINBURGH — SECOND EDITION OF THE APPENDIX PUBLISHED — MR. HOWARD'S INFLUENCE OVER PRISONERS — AN ALARMING VISITOR — HE RETIRES TO CARDINGTON — INTIMACY WITH MR. SMITH — INQUIRIES OF A STRANGER — 1784, 1785.

ON Mr. Howard's return from Ireland, he divided his time between London and Cardington, inspecting prisons in the metropolis, and arranging his papers for publication. In these excursions, he was now accompanied by his son, a fine-looking youth of eighteen, whose school education was finished, and whose entrance at either of the Universities was not determined upon ; he was also attended, as usual, by Thomasson, whom he still believed to be worthy of the confidence he had ever reposed in him. In this man's character, however, he was completely deceived ; under the semblance of a faithful servant, Thomasson hid a false heart, and, by corrupting the morals of the son, inflicted the deadliest wound on the feelings of the father. Being the person always appointed by Mr. Howard to

wait upon his son to and from school, and occasionally left with him at Cardington and elsewhere, he had had ample opportunities of instilling into the mind of that volatile youth the bad principles that filled his own ; he had encouraged him in his wild pranks, helped him to deceive his father, and taught him, by his example, whilst he secretly despised all serious things, to affect a respect for them before the old gentleman. This undutiful son even allowed Thomasson to make game of his father, to ridicule his peculiarities, and speak contemptuously of those extraordinary labors, which the good admired and wondered at, but which could not be understood or appreciated by those whose minds were narrowed by vice and prejudice. Under the tuition of so dexterous a hypocrite as Thomasson, young Howard did not fail to make some proficiency in the arts of deception ; but being naturally of an open and impetuous temper, his real feelings would occasionally break forth, and make him appear fitful and capricious. Though far from suspecting the real state of his son's morals, Mr. Howard saw much in his conduct to distress him ; after making all allowance for difference of age, there was still too great a difference of opinion between them. All the son's feelings were in

opposition to those of the father, and he was encouraged in this unnatural hostility, by the secret influence of some of his relations, who having very different views from those of the philanthropist, looked on his labors with contempt, and regarded the use he made of his fortune as a wrong done to his son. All these bad impressions, together with the great disadvantage of being heir to a considerable property, independent of his father, proved too much for the virtue of young Howard; and before he was nineteen years of age, he was addicted to the grossest vices. During his visits to London in 1783, whilst his father was engaged in his useful labors, he and Thomasson were secretly leading a life of dissipation. After demurely attending Mr. Howard's evening reading of the Scriptures, and pretending to retire at his early hour, they would leave the house, and spend the night in riot and excess.

This confederacy of wickedness was at last broken up, by the removal of young Howard to Edinburgh, whither his father accompanied him, and saw him entered as a student of the University, and settled as an inmate of Dr. Blacklock's family. Having thus provided him with a new field of exertion, and recommended him

to the particular care of the venerable gentleman in whose house he had placed him, this anxious father hoped a favorable change might be wrought in his son's character. Ignorant as he still was of the vicious courses of his beloved child, he was greatly distressed with his general habits and tone of feeling, and sometimes blamed himself for not having conducted himself toward him in such a manner, as would have rendered their intercourse more confidential and affectionate. The conscience of this excellent man acquitted him of all errors of intention ; he had, from the infancy of his son, always endeavoured to do that which he firmly believed would best promote his child's virtue and happiness ; his parental feelings were, like his other affections, deep-rooted and strong, but he was not in the habit of expressing them freely, and in his intercourse with his only child, this dear relic of his beloved Henrietta, he was ever on his guard against acting from feeling, rather than judgment and a sense of duty. He now began to fear that he had carried this too far, and to regret that he had not more conciliated the affections of his son. He little knew that there were secret influences at work from that child's earliest years, to undermine his authority, to create

a contempt for his advice, and to prejudice his son against him. Even without this secret counteraction, the peculiarities of Mr. Howard's character rendered him particularly unfit to manage a lively and high-spirited youth. His manners and deportment, though gentle, were grave and precise; and the great disparity of years between the father and son, together with the very serious cast of the father's pursuits, made him less companionable to his child than most other affectionate parents. The absence too of female influences at the family fire-side, increased the difficulty of their relative situations; and when, to all these considerations, is added the corrupting influence of an unprincipled attendant, possessing the confidence of each party, we are less surprised that the character of young Howard disappointed the hopes of his anxious father.

In thus dwelling on the adverse circumstances that attended the education of this youth, I would not be understood as endeavouring to exonerate him from any of the responsibility of his own bad conduct. These circumstances are mentioned in justice to the father, not to exculpate the son. He, like every other rational being, had that within him which convinced him of sin, and if he had obeyed its monitions, he would

have gained strength to resist temptation, and to stand against the evil influence even of a Thomasson.

After leaving his son at Edinburgh Mr. Howard devoted himself to the printing of a second edition of his Appendix, and of a third edition of his entire work, into each of which he introduced all the new matter furnished by his late travels. Whilst superintending these works through the press, he resided, as before, at Warrington, and was assisted by his good friend Dr. Aikin ; when the task was completed, he went to London, and there distributed copies of each with his usual liberality.

When first at Osnaburgh, in the Hanoverian dominions of the English King, Mr. Howard had been presented to one of the sons of George the Third, who was styled Prince and Bishop of Osnaburgh. In that interview he represented to the royal youth, that the severest kind of torture was in use in his principality, and urged him to abolish the practice altogether. The Prince begged him to describe it, which Howard declined, referring him to his own ministers for further information. A promise however was given by the Prince, that on coming of age he would abolish the use of torture. When

Howard next visited Osnaburgh, he was shocked to find the practice still continued, though the young Bishop had attained the age, at which he promised to do it away. Its continuance was suitably noticed, in the new edition of the Appendix ; and when the author was distributing his presentation copies, he sent one, elegantly bound, to the Prince, with the ribbon mark in the place where the Osnaburgh torture was mentioned. The gentleman, who furnished this anecdote, says that Howard told him, he might fill a volume with the accounts of various kinds of torture practised in Europe ; but, though he had no doubt that such a book would sell very rapidly, he should be very sorry to see such a one in circulation, lest it should furnish ferocious natures with some means of tormenting their fellow creatures before unknown, and so lead to the further adoption of such cruelties.

The genuine benevolence of Mr. Howard toward the unhappy class of persons, to whose relief he devoted so much of his life, and his real sympathy for their sufferings, gave him immediate access, not only to their cells, but to their minds. The humane feelings that filled his heart, unlocked theirs, and accordingly his influence over prisoners was great. Of this we have two

instances, recorded by a gentleman who had them from the lips of the philanthropist, and wrote them down shortly after, in the following words.

“ When Ryland, the celebrated engraver, was under sentence of death for forgery, a gentleman came one morning to Mr. Howard, during one of his temporary visits to London, and, begging pardon for his intrusion, informed him that, some years ago, a maid-servant in a house opposite to Ryland’s had suddenly left her situation, and could not be heard of. In her room, however, some scraps of his writing were discovered, and application was immediately made to him, to learn what had become of her. But the only answer he would give was, that she was provided for ; and with this, during his days of prosperity, her friends were obliged to be satisfied. When, however, his fortune was ruined by his condemnation, they desired to be more particularly informed of her condition. They accordingly applied to him in Newgate, but could get no specific answer to their inquiries ; when hearing that Mr. Howard had great influence over persons in Ryland’s situation, they had determined upon soliciting his assistance, in the hope that he would be able to procure from the

criminal the desired information. Mr. Howard promised the gentleman that he would bring back an account of the unfortunate girl's situation in twenty-four hours; and he fulfilled his promise. She had been kept by Ryland, in a village at some distance from London, where she was found by her relations, and restored to their protection."

"During an alarming riot at the Savoy, the prisoners had killed two of their keepers, and no person dared to approach them, until the intrepid Howard insisted on entering their prison. In vain his friends, in vain the gaolers endeavoured to dissuade him; in he went, among two hundred ruffians, where, such was the effect of his mild and benign manner, that they soon listened to his remonstrances, represented their grievances, and at last allowed themselves to be reconducted to the cells."

After such a proof as this of the dauntless courage of our hero, I may relate another anecdote of him which belongs to the same period, but exhibits him in a very different light; that of a cautious rather than a courageous man.

"A lady whose admiration had been very powerfully attracted by the extraordinary benevolence of Howard's character, feeling an eager

curiosity to behold and converse with him, is represented to have called several times at his house before she had the good fortune to meet with him; and when she did gain admittance, her appearance was so little prepossessing, that the mind of Mr. Howard could not divest itself of a certain dread of assassination. Her amazing height, indeed her *tout ensemble*, was so extremely masculine, that the idea of a man disguised in woman's clothes instantly occurred to his imagination, and he hastily rung his bell, and by a look gave his servant to understand that he wished him to wait in the room. His fears were, however, groundless, for the good woman, after having sufficiently wearied his patience by a bombastic display of the vast veneration, in which she held his labors in the cause of humanity, very quietly took her leave, declaring that she could now die in peace."

The great business of laying before the public the results of his travels, during the last three years, being accomplished, Mr. Howard gladly retired to his favorite residence at Cardington, and there devoted himself to the social duties and the social pleasures of his neighbourhood. He now resumed his personal care over those poor neighbours and dependents, who had ever shared

his bounty and been in his thoughts when hundreds of miles separated him from them. During his absence his intimate friend and pastor Mr. Smith of Bedford, and his faithful steward John Prole, had been the almoners of his private charity, and they had directions, when giving in his name, to place themselves in his stead, and give what became his circumstances. In all his tours of benevolence, his neighbours in Bedfordshire were held in affectionate remembrance, and he never returned home without bringing a variety of useful presents, to be distributed among them. Some of these were the work of the poor prisoners, of whom it was a charity to buy them; others were the peculiar manufacture of the place where he bought them, and some were elegant articles of the most delicate fabric, requiring the greatest care in their transportation, and often brought from a great distance as presents for his female friends.

Howard's name was now become so celebrated that many persons sought his acquaintance, on account of the fame he had acquired, and his house was frequently filled with unexpected company; but his domestic affairs were so well arranged, and his table so well served, notwithstanding his own abstemious habits, that his

guests were always well entertained, and no bustle or confusion was ever to be observed in his household. His preference of a vegetable diet was so confirmed that he never tasted animal food, not so much as an egg or an oyster ; but he always had his table well supplied, and his meals served up in a style suited to his rank, and sufficient for the entertainment of any accidental company.

Many were the exaggerated accounts, given at the time, of his mode of living ; some represented his diet as the result of his great benevolence, which could not endure that any creature should suffer death in order to gratify his palate ; but his own account of the matter was simply this. He had an idea that animal food irritated the system and clouded the mind ; and that a vegetable diet, on the contrary, kept the whole frame free from irascible passions and preserved the intellects clear. To his adherence to it, he attributed his calm, unruffled temper, and the presence of mind he evinced upon all occasions. Restricted as his diet was, he was careless about what he ate, and could make a good meal of a crust of bread and glass of water. Neither was he at all particular as to the hours at which he took his meals ; when travelling, he

always made it a very subordinate consideration ; but when at home he was punctual in this, as in all other things, for the sake of order in his household.

Among Howard's particular friends, Mr. Smith held a distinguished place ; and when the philanthropist was at Cardington, his pastor gave up every engagement, but those which his sacred office demanded, that he might enjoy the society of his exalted friend. Mr. Smith often spent several days together under the roof of Mr. Howard, and, when not staying there, he used to spend some hours of almost every day with him. Mr. Howard would frequently call at Mr. Smith's door on horseback, and invite him to join him in a ride, when he generally engaged him so earnestly in conversation, as to keep him out an hour or two after his dinner-time, without his perceiving how late it was ; and then he would smilingly say, "I find, my friend, you can fast as long as I can ; but now you must go home with me and spend the day, for Mrs. Smith will have dined long before this time."

Mr. Smith often said, those were some of the most delightful hours of his life ; for Mr. Howard would then completely unbend himself, and give him the most entertaining accounts of

his past travels ; he would speak to him also of his trials and his sorrows, and open to him every feeling of his heart in the most free and confidential manner.

The attachment of the faithful domestics at Cardington was equally creditable to them and their employer. They were indeed no "*eye-servants*," for during the long absences of their master, his commands and his wishes were as punctually fulfilled as if he had been on the spot. Mr. Howard's generous spirit revolted from the idea of those in his employment receiving any remuneration from others, and therefore he was averse to the custom of giving and receiving vails, and particularly required of his own domestics never to receive a fee of any sort. As his celebrity increased, his residence became an object of curiosity to travellers, and a point of attraction to pleasure parties, and, according to the custom of England, strangers were admitted to see it ; but all persons in his service were strictly forbidden to take any fee or reward for showing it, and there is every reason to believe that his wishes, in this respect, were scrupulously attended to by all his domestics, notwithstanding the frequent temptation to which they were exposed. Well knowing the charac-

ter of their employer they were assured that a breach of faithfulness in this respect would lose them their places, and they valued his service too highly, to risk the loss of it by taking a vail.

The house and grounds were kept in the most exact order during the owner's absence, and every thing about them showed the interest which the domestics took, in their employer's concerns; nor did they desire a higher reward from him, than his kind expressions of satisfaction and approval, on his return home.

Among the numerous strangers whom the fame of Howard brought to Cardington, during his absence, was a very respectable-looking, elderly gentleman on horseback, attended by a groom equally well mounted. He stopped first at the inn nearest to the mansion of the philanthropist, and made many inquiries concerning him of the landlord, observing that characters often appeared very well at a distance, which would not bear close inspection; he had therefore come to Mr. Howard's residence, in order to satisfy himself concerning him. The inn-keeper was ready enough to answer all the stranger's questions; he even accompanied him through the house and grounds, pointing out their conveniences

and the perfect order in which all was kept. The visitor conversed with the domestics and found that their respect and attachment for Mr. Howard was such as only a truly good man could inspire. He inquired about his character as a landlord, and was shown several of the new cottages built by Howard, and informed of the conditions on which the tenants held them. After this examination into the private life of the philanthropist, the gentleman returned to the inn, declaring himself convinced of the truth of all he had before heard concerning his public character.

This stranger proved to be no other than Lord Monboddo, a Scotch gentleman, highly celebrated for his attainments in legal knowledge and classical literature, and much talked of at this time for his curious philosophical speculations. Mr. Howard was much flattered by the visit, and praised his Lordship's good sense in taking the method he did to come at the truth, since he thought it worth so much trouble.

CHAPTER XIV.

**JOHN HOWARD, JUNIOR. — HOWARD'S ATTENTION
TURNED TO LAZARETTOS, AND THE TREATMENT
OF THE PLAGUE — ADVENTURE IN PARIS —
MARSEILLES — TOULON — 1785.**

CHANGE of scene, and a new field of exertion, did not produce in young Howard the change of habits and feelings, so earnestly desired by his father. The love of low pleasures, contracted in London, continued to be his ruling passion in Edinburgh, and his excesses now began to produce their usual effect upon his health. Nor were the ravages thus wantonly made on a constitution naturally vigorous, confined to the body; his mind was also affected, and though at this time it was not sufficiently so, to warrant his being treated as a lunatic patient, it was enough so to be remarked by those who lived with him, and to occasion such fitful and capricious conduct, as made him generally disliked by his companions. When his singular habits were made known to his father, he was removed from Edinburgh, and allowed to return to Cardington. There he enjoyed all the comforts and privileges of the family

mansion, and was treated with the greatest indulgence by all. His father's abstemious habits were not urged upon him; he was by his own account allowed to 'live as he chose,' and to keep his phaeton and horses, and have many luxuries in which his father never indulged.

The unsoundness of young Howard's mind showed itself in various strange pranks, and in passionate behaviour to dependents; but was not sufficient, at this time, to give his friends any alarm for his intellects. It occasionally influenced his feelings towards his father, and some of his extravagant speeches gave rise to a report of his being treated with great severity by him; but those who were continually associated with the son at this period bear the most ample testimony to his prevailing state of feeling being that of filial respect and gratitude. As a proof of this, we have the following well authenticated anecdote.

Mr. John Howard and his friend Dr. R. Darwin, then residing with him, happened to dine at the house of a lady who was considered as a friend of the family. She lamented the expense of what she was pleased to call his father's extravagant though amiable eccentricities, said that charity began at home, and that such pursuits

might ultimately ruin his family. She hoped therefore when Mr. John Howard came of age, if any of the property was settled, he would not join to cut off the entail. To this the young man replied, with great warmth and indignation, that he would with delight join his father, to cut off the last shilling, as the only credit he had in life was being the offspring of such a parent; adding, "What good can I do with money, which will bear any comparison with the good he has done with it?" After leaving the lady, he observed, with great indignation, to his friend Darwin who had been present during the conversation, "See this Mrs. —, who calls herself the friend of my father, wishes me to embarrass him!" and again he repeated with great warmth, "What good could I possibly do, compared with what my father has done?"

Thus we see that this degenerate son could not refuse to his father's virtues some portion of the respect and admiration, which they deserved, and that, in his sober moments, he was not insensible to the claims of that parent on his grateful affection, whatever may have been his language, when the partial derangement of his intellects left him a prey to irascible passions.

After spending some months very idly at home, his father persuaded him to enter as a fellow-commoner of St. John's college, Cambridge; thither his anxious parent accompanied him, and introduced him to a circle of his own friends, among whom was the late Rev. Robert Robinson, since known to the world by his admirable Village Sermons. These sober friends of his father did not at all suit the taste of young Howard, who soon fell into the company of the most idle and profligate set in Cambridge; and his extravagance and dissipation completed the ruin of his health and confirmed the malady of his mind.

After placing his son at college, and giving him one more chance of establishing his character afresh among new friends and new scenes, that much afflicted father sought relief from this greatest of trials in the performance of every Christian duty; in administering to the sorrows of others, we may reasonably hope that he felt his own less acutely.

The schools for poor children which he had established many years before in Bedfordshire, and was the chief means of supporting, were always a cherished object of benevolence. They were ever attended to in his absence, and during

the two years he now spent at Cardington, he gave them every encouragement. There was, at this time, no general provision for the education of the lower classes in England ; it was not uncommon for persons of good habits and decent appearance to be wholly uneducated, not even taught to read. This deficiency appeared very lamentable to Mr. Howard ; he considered ignorance as a prolific source of crime, and was desirous of doing every thing in his power, to give a good plain education to all the poor children in his neighbourhood.

The very great attention paid by Howard to the subject of hospitals, and his investigation of the various modes of treating fevers in different countries, together with his early study of some branches of medicine and his intimacy with many medical gentlemen, enabled him sometimes to act the part of physician, as well as friend, to the sick, particularly where fevers were in question. A young lady of Bedford, being attacked with a very malignant fever, many persons were afraid of going to the house, but Mr. Howard visited her every day, and suggested many things which proved beneficial ; whilst administering to the body of the daughter, his Christian advice and sympathy were equally

useful to the mind of the mother, under her anxiety and fatigue. When his patient began to recover, he instructed her mother, how to prepare nourishing and light food for her ; and when sufficiently well, he invited her to go over to Cardington for change of scene ; adding, in the most good-tempered way, "The air will do you good, and young lasses need not scruple coming to see such old widowers as I am."

That a man so formed for domestic happiness, and who had enjoyed so much felicity in the marriage state, should have remained so many years a widower, is attributed by his friends to the high standard of female excellence which his beloved Harriet had established in his mind, and the difficulty of finding a second person equally congenial to him.

Dr. Aikin says on this subject, that if ever Howard had married again, a resemblance to his lost Harriet would have been the principal motive of his choice ; and to this purpose he gives the following anecdote, related to him by the philanthropist, on his return from one of his tours. In going from one town of Holland to another, in the common passage-boat, he was placed near an elderly gentleman ; and in company with him was a lady whose very engaging

manners and appearance reminded him strongly of his Harriet. He was so much struck with her that on arriving at the place of destination, he sent his servant to observe where they went, and obtain intelligence as to who they were. It was not without some disappointment that he learned, that the old gentleman was an eminent merchant, and the young lady — *his wife*.

It was certainly far better for the world that Howard should remain single; for had he married again, it would most likely have abridged his usefulness, and have confined to the narrow sphere of his own neighbourhood, those untiring energies which now compassed sea and land in the cause of suffering humanity. In this point of view, we may see good arising out of evil, even in the case of his son's misconduct. His want of comfort and satisfaction in that only child, made it easier for him to forego the domestic life of Cardington, and to renew his labors of philanthropy in foreign lands. Severely disappointed in his fondest earthly hope, he naturally took refuge in the performance of duty, — in the exercise of that Christian benevolence which had ever brought peace to his soul.

We have seen in the foregoing pages how Mr. Howard's mind became gradually more and more

interested in the subject of hospitals and the treatment of malignant disorders; in following out these researches, he was led to think a great deal of that most dreadful scourge of mankind, the plague. He believed that an examination of all the principal lazarettos of Europe, might throw considerable light upon the subject, and furnish some useful hints on the means of preventing the spread of contagion; and in the last edition of his work on Prisons, he threw out a remark to that effect, and expressed a hope that some traveller would take drawings of those plague-hospitals. No one however had been known to make any use of this suggestion; and believing that correct plans of those buildings would prove very important aids in devising means to check the progress of that dreadful malady, he resolved to undertake the dangerous task himself.

He accordingly made all the necessary arrangements for his distant and perilous expedition, not omitting particular directions to be observed in case he fell a victim to his present undertaking. He determined to go, unattended even by Thomasson, feeling that he ought not to expose any life but his own to the dangers he expected to incur.

John Prole was sorry to hear that Thomasson was to be left behind, as he had found out what a very dangerous companion he was for young Howard ; he did not however attempt to lessen his employer's confidence in a favorite domestic, but merely ventured to recommend to Mr. Howard to take his son abroad with him. To this exposure of his son's life, the father would not of course listen for a moment, neither could he be persuaded to let Thomasson accompany him ; so these confederates in vice were left to aid in each other's ruin. They were both in London with Mr. Howard, previous to his setting off on his journey, and, still deceiving him, they pursued their evil courses.

Mr. Howard obtained from his medical friends a set of queries as to the nature, symptoms, and treatment of the plague, which were to aid him in his researches, and, thus furnished, he set sail for Holland in November, 1785. The place, at which he was desirous of beginning his investigation, was Marseilles ; but the jealousy of the French government respecting their Levant trade had long kept the lazaretto of that port from the view of foreigners, and therefore he took the precaution of getting the English secretary of state for foreign affairs to make application to

the French minister for leave to visit it. Not doubting that a person like himself, without any commercial interests, would be allowed this privilege, he waited at the Hague for the expected permission. He was however surprised to receive a peremptory refusal, and a caution not to enter France at all, as he would be in danger of the Bastille if he did. The friend, to whom he communicated this news, endeavoured to dissuade him from putting himself in the power of the French government; but he replied that the die was cast and he was determined to run the risk, in full reliance on the protection of Providence, as he thought it essential to his plans personally to inspect the lazarettos of Marseilles and Toulon. In two days he reached Paris, travelling by the stage-coach from Brussels. As soon as he arrived, he took his place in the Lyons coach for the next morning, and to avoid observation went to an obscure inn for the night. He was enjoying sound sleep, after the fatigues of his journey, when he was roused by a tremendous knocking at his chamber-door. He started up, and, somewhat alarmed, unlocked his door, and returned to bed again, to await the event. A chamber-maid entered with two lighted candles, and ushered in a man in a black coat, with a

sword by his side, and both hands in an enormous muff. This important looking personage asked him if his name were *Howard*; he hastily answered "Yes, and what of that?" He was then questioned as to whether he had not come to Paris in the Brussels stage-coach, in company with a man in a black wig. To this apparently idle question, he returned a short answer, importing that he paid no attention to such trifles. On this, his visitor withdrew in silence, the door closed, and he was left to sleep, if he could. The more he reflected upon this strange adventure, the more important it appeared to him; and being unable to sleep any more, he rose and left the house. He had paid his bill before going to bed, so he walked off with his small trunk on his shoulder, and repaired to the Lyons coach-office, where he waited the hour of departure, fearing every moment to be taken into custody by some police-officer. At last the great, lumbering vehicle was packed and ready to set off, he took his seat inside with pleasant fellow passengers, and performed his journey to Lyons without molestation. He called himself a doctor,* and justified his claim to the title, by prescribing very

* That degree, it must be remembered, had been conferred on him by the University of Dublin.

successfully for a lady of the party who was indisposed by the way. Arrived safely at Lyons, he kept himself as private as possible; but he could not refrain from visiting all the prisons and hospitals of that city, nor from calling on some Protestant clergymen that he knew there.

Pursuing his way unmolested, he reached Marseilles and soon called on an old acquaintance there; but his reception was calculated to alarm him, for his host exclaimed, "Mr. Howard I have always been happy to see you till now. Leave France as fast as possible. I know they are searching for you in all directions." Here he learned the meaning of the question put to him by the man of the muff, about the traveller in the black wig; the man so designated was a spy, sent with him to Paris, by the French Ambassador at the Hague. He found too that he was only saved from arrest the night he was in Paris by the absence of the official character who managed such matters. That dignitary had gone to Versailles for a day, and in consequence of several persons having been lately arrested on false or frivolous pretences, he had given orders that no arrests should be made during his absence; he returned on the evening of the next day, when an arrest was sent forth to

apprehend the English traveller, but he had escaped the snare, and, though pursued, was not overtaken.

This animosity of the French government, was founded on the efforts Howard made, to prevent the English prisoners of war, at Dunkirk, from entering the French navy, and on his having published, in French as well as English, a prohibited pamphlet, detailing all the secret horrors of the Bastille. These were unpardonable sins, and for these he narrowly escaped a more intimate acquaintance with the dungeons of that fortress. Though convinced that his personal liberty was in danger, he could not resolve to leave Marseilles without accomplishing his purpose; he therefore engaged the services of the friend who had warned him of his peril, and with his aid he gained admission to the lazaretto, saw all he wished, found much to repay him for the risk, and had a drawing made of the whole plan of it.

Whilst at Marseilles, Mr. Howard heard from good authority, that at Toulon there was a man among the galley-slaves who had been confined thirty-five years, merely on account of his professing the Protestant religion. The case of this persecuted person interested the feelings of our

traveller so much; that he determined to go to Toulon, and if possible, to procure an interview with him. The galleys were moored off the arsenal, and many of the slaves were employed on the works of the arsenal; so it was necessary to gain admittance to that great naval establishment, which was strictly closed to all foreigners. Mr. Howard had been so much abroad, spoke the French language so fluently, and so much like a native, that by dressing himself, on his arrival at Toulon, in the height of the French fashion, he easily passed as a Frenchman, and was readily admitted to the arsenal. There he spent part of two days, making his inquiries very cautiously, and without finding out any thing relative to the object of his particular search. He was told that the last person confined there for his religious opinions had been released eight years ago. His perseverance however was not to be baffled, and at last he procured an interview with the very man he was in search of. He found him so infirm as to be past work, and therefore confined in the galley appropriated to the aged and infirm. On conversing with him, he found that he had been in the galleys forty-two years, having been committed, when only fourteen years of age, on a charge of taking part

with some boys, in a quarrel they had with a gentleman who lost his gold-headed cane in a private house in Paris. For this trifling offence, he was sentenced to the galleys for life. After being four or five years in confinement, he procured a bible ; and having taught himself to read, he studied the Scriptures very attentively, and convinced himself that the religion there taught was very different from that in which he had been educated. By degrees he rejected the superstition and priestcraft of the Roman Catholic church, and became so completely a Protestant that he publicly renounced his former belief, and avowed and defended his reformed faith upon all occasions. Though considered a heretic for his opinions, he had conducted himself, on all other points, in such an exemplary manner as to secure the esteem of his officers and fellow prisoners. Undaunted and unshaken in his faith, he was humble and modest in his deportment, and made the most favorable impression on his sympathizing visitor, who left him a substantial token of his regard, and brought away with him, as a memorial of this interesting sufferer, some musical pipes which he had turned and tuned, for the purpose of beguiling some hours of a confinement, from which he fully believed that he could only be

released by death. To a man thus situated, how welcome must the messenger of death appear ! He must seem as an angel of glad tidings, unbarring his prison doors, striking off his shackles, and introducing him to a state of existence where there is no more persecution, no more unjust suffering of any kind, but where the secret sighing of such a captive shall be turned to joy unspeakable.

CHAPTER XV.

LETTER FROM NICE — LETTER FROM MALTA —
 HOWARD GOES TO SMYRNA — CONSTANTINOPLE
 — HE RETURNS TO SMYRNA — QUARANTINE AT
 VENICE — BAD STATE OF THE LAZARETTO —
 MEANS OF PURIFICATION — 1786.

HAVING fully accomplished all that he had proposed at Toulon, prudence required that Mr. Howard should quit France as soon as possible ; and having been advised against attempting it by land, he bribed the captain of a vessel, wind-bound in the harbour, to put to sea with him, in spite of contrary winds, and convey him to Nice. Arrived there, he wrote the following letter to his friend Mr. Smith.

“ Nice, January 30, 1786.

“ Sir,

“ I persuade myself that a line to acquaint you that I am safe and well out of France, will give you pleasure. I had a nice part to act ; I travelled as an English doctor, and perhaps among the number of empirics I did as little mischief as most of them ; I never dined or supped in public, the secret was only trusted to

the French Protestant ministers. I was five days at Marseilles and four at Toulon ; it was thought that I could not get out of France by land, so I forced out a Genoese ship, and have been many days striving against wind and tide, three days in an almost desolate island over-grown with myrtle, rosemary, and thyme.

“ Last Sunday fortnight at the meeting at Toulon, the door locked and curtains drawn, one coming late put the assembly in fear, even to inquiry before the door was opened. I was twice over the arsenal, though there is a strict prohibition to our countrymen. There is a singular slave there who has publicly professed himself a Protestant these thirty-six years, a sensible, good man, with an unexceptionable and even amiable character. The last person who was confined merely for his religion, was released about eight years ago. My friend may think I have taken a final leave of a perfidious, jealous, and ungenerous nation.

“ I am bound this week for Genoa and then to Leghorn, where a lazaretto has been built within these few years. I know, Sir, you will not treat any new scheme as wild and chimerical, yet I must say, it requires a steadiness of purpose not to be shaken to pursue it.

“My best compliments to Mrs. Smith and our Bedford friends, and please to inform John Prole that I am well.

“I write this with my windows open, in full view of an orange grove, though the mountains at a great distance I see covered with snow.

“With my best wishes I remain

“Your affectionate friend,

“JOHN HOWARD.”

From Nice Mr. Howard proceeded to the south of Italy, visiting all the prisons, hospitals, and lazarettos in the principal cities through which he passed, sometimes pleased by finding old grievances redressed and better regulations instituted, and sometimes pained by seeing the establishments, he had before admired, now changed for the worse. At Florence, there was much to gratify him in the alterations and improvements made in prisons and hospitals, in consequence of the great attention which the Grand Duke had paid to the subject; but highly as he appreciated the conduct of this excellent prince, he refused an invitation to dine with him, because he considered that, without advancing the grand objects of his journey, it would occasion him the loss of three hours which were then peculiarly import-

ant, as conveyances to the place of his destination were not very frequent or certain.

At Rome, our traveller was privately introduced to the reigning pontiff, the dignified but unfortunate Pius VI. It being well understood that the character and religion of the English philanthropist would not admit of his either kissing the Pope's toe, or prostrating himself before him, all such ceremonies were dispensed with. At parting, however, the Pope laid his hand on the head of his heretical visitor, and good humoredly said, "I know you Englishmen do not mind these things, but the blessing of an old man can do you no harm." This was no doubt cordially received by the Protestant traveller, as a mark of individual kindness, though he could not attach any importance to it as the act of his Holiness the Pope.

From Naples, he took shipping for Malta, and met with such a violent tempest on his voyage, that the vessel narrowly escaped destruction. As he passed by the island of Sicily, he saw traces of the dreadful earthquake which two years before had almost depopulated Messina, and had swallowed up some of the fairest portions of the land. At Malta he spent three weeks, and found much to deplore in the ill-

regulated prisons and hospitals, and also in the piratical conduct of the Knights of Malta, who, calling themselves Christians and bearing on their breasts the sign of the Prince of Peace, pretended to do God service by swearing perpetual enmity to Turks, carrying them off whenever an opportunity is offered, and making them slaves. From Malta, Mr. Howard addressed the following letter to his faithful bailiff.

“ Malta, March 31, 1786.

“ John Prole,

“ I am well, with intrepid, firm spirits and resolution in pursuing my determined object ; but have had a sad winter to combat with. Some days on a desolate island on the south of France, and last Sunday morning, a sad storm ; from twelve to four, we expected our watery grave. Though our sailors all cried to St. Anthony to save them, it was God that had mercy on us.

“ I have had my audience of the Grand Master and he granted my request, so that every place is flung open to me. We are here as warm as June, yet the first salutation is, “ It is cold, Sir,” which they find it, as they are wrapt up in great-coats. I see pease and beans in plenty in the streets, but I take my tea in the morning, and a

little weak chocolate in the evening. I sail for Turkey in ten days; if every thing succeeds as I have laid my plan, I have hopes to be at Vienna, in Germany, on my return home, the latter end of July or beginning of August. My object is great and liable to a fatal miscarriage; my zeal I hope will not abate, nor will I look back. My best compliments to my Cardington friends."

In another letter from the same place, addressed to a relation, he says,

"One effect I find during my visits to the lazaretto, viz. a heavy head-ache, a pain across my forehead; but it has always quite left me in one hour after I have come from these places. As I am quite alone, I have need to summon all my courage and resolution. You will say it is a great design, and so liable to a fatal miscarriage. I must adopt the motto of a Maltese Baron, — *Non nisi per ardua*. I will not think my friend is amongst the many who treat every new attempt as wild and chimerical, and as was first said of my former attempt, that it would produce no real or lasting advantage. But I persevere 'through good report and evil report.' I know I run the greatest risk of my life. Permit me to declare the sense of my mind

in the expressive words of Dr. Doddridge, — ‘I have no hope in what I have been or done.’ Yet there is a hope set before me. In him, the Lord Jesus Christ, I trust. In him I have strong consolation.

“I am, I bless God, pretty well ; calm, steady spirits. All see at the inns, &c. that I have the mode of travelling, and try to oblige me ; but I inflexibly keep to my mode of living, with regimen or low diet. The physicians in Turkey, I hear, are very attentive too in the time that the plague is there.

“In many instances God has disappointed my fears and exceeded my hopes.”

Well might this adventurous pilgrim feel and write thus seriously of the prospects before him, for he was now about to enter the region of infection ; his next destination was a port of Turkey, that land of despotism, barbarism, and pestilence. Embarked on board a vessel bound for Smyrna, he stopped at Zante by the way, saw the hospitals and prisons of the Greeks, and then continued his voyage to the infected city of Smyrna, where the plague had lately raged, and still existed partially. As soon as he arrived, he hired a Dragoman to act as guide and interpreter, and began his inspection of prisons and hos-

pitals. At the gate of the principal prison, he found three Turks sitting, smoking their pipes, who made a very surly reply to his application for admittance ; but when the Dragoman told them, he was a physician, they became more civil, and allowed him to enter. He was surprised to find here but seven prisoners ; this was accounted for by the speedy execution of every sentence pronounced by despotic power. There being no form of trial, no laws to protect the people from the absolute will of the rulers, a man might be arrested, judged, and executed, all in a few hours ; and where life is taken so freely and unscrupulously as in Turkey, prisons are little needed ; the prison-house of the grave is ever at hand, and gives the police less trouble. Among this small number of prisoners, Mr. Howard saw a young man who had been so severely bastinadoed that his whole body was prodigiously swelled from head to foot. The English doctor thought he could cure him, and prescribed accordingly. The keepers despaired of his life ; but the remedies were tried, and happily proved successful. The fame of this cure spread through the city, and procured the traveller ready admission to all the other prisons and hospitals. To this, he also attributed his being permitted to accompany the

Cadi and other officers of police, when they made their rounds to examine the weights used in shops, and the quality of the bread sold by the bakers. All false and light weights were cut and carried away, and those who used them were either sent to prison, or bastinadoed on the spot, as long as the *Cadi* chose to order. Mr. Howard observed upon this custom, that "such hasty executions of what is *here* called *justice*, are very improper and cruel. The terror which appeared in the countenances of *all* the shop-keepers at these times implied, that the innocent as well as the guilty might suffer; and, indeed it is scarcely possible this should not sometimes happen, the *Cadi*, who orders and superintends these punishments, continuing in office only a year, and being generally young and inexperienced."

There was not a single Turkish hospital to be found in Smyrna; all such establishments belonged to foreigners. That of the Italian states was assiduously attended by a good prior, who, having recovered from the plague himself, made a vow to devote the rest of his days to the relief of others under that dreadful malady. Thinking the experience of such a man must make his opinions valuable, Mr. Howard proposed to him the queries, with which he had been furnished

by the English physicians ; and from his answers it appeared, that in the hospital under his superintendence the number of patients, that had recovered, for the last eighteen years, exceeded the number that died ; which, by comparison with the mortality in other hospitals, shows how much may be done, by good care and skilful attendance, to mitigate the horrors even of the plague.

From Smyrna, the philanthropist went by sea to the Turkish capital, and as he was in a miserable Turkish boat, he was fortunate in having a passage of only seven days. A family that arrived just before him had been out between two and three months. His reputation as a physician followed him to Constantinople, and greatly assisted him in all his undertakings. In this character, he was sent for to attend the daughter of a Turk, high in office at the Ottoman court, whose disease had baffled the skill of the native physicians. This was a very dangerous calling, for want of success might, in that land of tyranny, have been construed into want of good will, and punished accordingly. Happily for the English traveller, his prescriptions gave the young lady relief, and her delighted parent showed his sense of the obligation, by pressing

upon Mr. Howard's acceptance, a purse of two thousand sequins.* This he absolutely refused, alleging that he never took money for his services ; but adding that a plate of grapes from the gentleman's garden would be very acceptable. Astonished at his moderation, the Turk not only complied immediately with this simple request, but supplied him daily with the finest fruit, during his residence in the city.

Mr. Howard found on arriving at Constantinople, that the chief topic of the day was a summary and sanguinary punishment which had recently been inflicted on the grand chamberlain, and the account he received of it, was calculated to confirm his impressions of Turkish despotism. The particulars were these. The grand vizier sent one day for the grand chamberlain who had the charge of supplying the city with bread. Yielding immediate obedience to the summons, this officer arrived at the palace of the minister in great state ; and, being introduced into his presence, was asked why the bread was so bad ? He answered that the harvest had been but a very indifferent one. " Why," continued the Vizier, apparently satisfied with this excuse, " is the weight so short ? " " That," replied the

* About four thousand five hundred dollars.

chamberlain, "might have happened by accident to two or three amongst such an immense number of loaves as are required for the supply of so large a city;" but he assured his highness that greater care should be taken for the future. Without further observation, the Vizier ordered him to quit his presence; but no sooner was he obeyed, than he commanded an executioner to follow the unhappy man and strike off his head in the street, where his body was publicly exposed for a day and a half, with three light loaves beside it, to denote his crime.

When the circumstance was related to Mr. Howard, he was told that the chamberlain's body had lain three days in the street, on which he expressed his surprise that it had not bred a contagion, and then he learnt that in point of fact it had not been left so long, as they were not entire days. It was evening when the head was struck off, and this was reckoned one day; it remained the whole of the second, and was removed early on the succeeding morning, which was accounted the third day. This eastern mode of computation, is the same now that it was in the time of the crucifixion and burial of Jesus Christ, when three days were similarly reckoned.

When our traveller had been about a fortnight in Constantinople he thus writes to a friend in England : " I am sorry to say some die of the plague about us ; one is just carried before my window, yet I visit where none of my conductors will accompany me. In some hospitals, as in lazarettos, and yesterday among the sick slaves. I have a constant head-ache, but in about an hour after, it always leaves me. Sir Robert Ainslie is very kind ; but for the above and other reasons, I could not lodge in his house. I am at a physician's and keep some of my visits a secret."

In another letter, he observes, " At Smyrna the foreigners' houses are shut up ; every thing they receive is fumigated, and their provisions pass through water ; but in Constantinople, where many of the natives drop down dead, the houses of foreigners are still kept open. I conversed with an Italian merchant on Thursday, and had observed to a gentleman how sprightly he was ; he replied, he had a fine trade, and was in the prime of life ; but alas ! on Saturday he died and was buried, having every sign of the plague."

Mr. Howard's investigation of prisons and hospitals in this city occupied him nearly a

month; it was no sooner completed than he made arrangements for quitting this centre of despotism, and proceeding over land to Vienna. Whilst preparing for this journey, it suddenly occurred to him that after all the dangers he had incurred, and the fatigues he had endured, the information he had acquired, concerning the arrangements of lazarettos and pest-houses, was mere hearsay, it might just as well have been procured by written applications to ministers and consuls, and that the only way, to obtain a certain knowledge of their economy, would be to subject himself to their discipline. Once convinced of this, his resolution was taken; he would go directly back to Smyrna, whence no vessels sailed with clean bills of health, and by taking passage from there to Venice, he should, on arriving, be obliged to perform quarantine in an extensive lazaretto of that city. He accordingly relinquished his intention of turning his steps homewards, and took passage in a little Greek boat bound to Salonica; as he wished to visit that place and Scio, on his way back to Smyrna.

From Salonica he writes thus to a friend in England. "I came hither on Saturday in a Greek boat full of passengers, one of whom be-

ing taken ill he was brought to me, as I always pass for a physician. I felt his pulse, looked at the swelling, and ordered him to keep warm in a little cabin, as he had caught cold; in two hours after I sent for a French captain, desiring him to give no alarm, but said that I was persuaded the man had the plague, and on Tuesday after, I saw the grave in which he was buried.

“I visit all the prisons, to inform myself; but my interpreters are very cross with me. I am bound for Scio, as in that island is the most famous hospital in the Levant. My quarantine of forty days imprisonment is to be, I hope, at Venice. I could easily have made my route by land to Vienna, without being stopped, as no quarantine is performed on the confines of the Emperor’s dominions; but should such an establishment for our shipping be ever introduced into England, things which now may appear trivial, may be of future importance; I have therefore procured from the Venetian Ambassador, the strongest recommendation to assist me in the minutest observations I can make during my quarantine.

“I bless God, I am quite well, calm, and in steady spirits; indeed I have at times need of determined resolution. Since I left Helvoetsluys,

I have never met with any English ship, or travelled one mile with any of my countrymen.

"I am persuaded I am engaged in a good cause, and confirmed of having a good God and Master; his approbation will be an abundant recompense for all the little pleasures I may have given up."

At Scio our traveller had an opportunity of visiting a hospital for lepers, the only one he had ever seen. There were one hundred and twenty patients of both sexes, lodged in separate rooms, and most of them were furnished with little gardens which supplied them with pot-herbs, almonds, and delicious figs and grapes.

Arrived at Smyrna, he found a vessel bound to Venice with a foul bill of health, and immediately sailed in her. On the voyage they were attacked by a Tunisian corsair, which, after a smart skirmish, was beaten off by the execution done by a large cannon loaded with spikes, nails, and bits of iron, and pointed by Mr. Howard himself, whose calmness and presence of mind never forsook him. He found after the action was over, that he had been in two-fold danger, for if they had not beaten the corsair, the captain was resolved to blow up his vessel and perish in

her, rather than surrender himself and crew, to perpetual slavery.

After a tedious and dangerous voyage of two months, Mr. Howard reached the spot where he was to carry on his investigations in a new manner, as the inmate of a lazaretto in Venice. When the captain reported himself at the health office, he was accompanied by his English passenger who wished to see all the forms attendant on that part of the business. Returning to the vessel, he remained on board till the next morning when he was placed with his baggage, in a gondola, fastened by a cord ten feet long to another boat, in which were six rowers. When they reached the landing place of the new lazaretto, the cord was loosed, and the gondola was pushed with a pole to the shore ; here he was received by a person appointed to be his guard, and shown to his lodging, which was a very dirty room, full of vermin, and without table, chair, or bed, in the lazaretto chiefly used for Turks, soldiers, and the crews of vessels which have the plague on board. That day and the next morning, he employed a person to wash his room ; but this did not remove the offensiveness of it, or prevent that constant head-ache which he had been used to feel in visiting other lazarettos.

His health being reported to the office, and a representation made by the English consul, he was in a few days removed to another lazaretto nearer the city. Being furnished with a letter to the prior who was at the head of this institution, he hoped now to have more comfortable accommodations ; but in this he was disappointed. The two rooms, one above the other, which were now assigned him were no less disagreeable than the one he had left. Of the two apartments, he preferred lying in the lower one, on a brick floor and nearly surrounded by water. After six days spent here, he was again removed to rather better quarters. He now had a pleasant view from the windows of his lodgings, but the rooms were without furniture, very dirty and no less offensive than the sick wards of the worst hospital. The walls, not having been cleaned for years, seemed to be saturated with infection ; and though he had them washed repeatedly with boiling water, it did not remove their offensive smell. In this unwholesome atmosphere his appetite failed, his head ached constantly, and he felt himself to be in danger of the slow hospital fever. A proposal of his to white-wash his room, had been rejected by the prejudices of those around him ; but by the help

of the British consul, he succeeded in smuggling into his apartment a quarter of a bushel of quick lime, and a brush. Once possessed of the means of purification, he was resolved to use them, even if he were obliged to lock up his guard whilst he did it. By rising very early, and bribing an attendant to help him, he accomplished the business one morning before the man was awake, and by this simple process his principal room was rendered so wholesome and sweet, that he ate his next meal in it with a better relish, had a good night's rest, and in a few days recovered his usual appetite for his simple diet of bread and tea, which was all that he allowed himself.

CHAPTER XVI.

**BAD NEWS FROM ENGLAND — HOWARD LEAVES
VENICE FOR TRIESTE — TRAVELS TO VIENNA
— INTERVIEW WITH THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II.
— RETURNS TO ENGLAND — STOPS THE PRO-
JECT OF A MONUMENT — TRAVELS IN THE
UNITED KINGDOMS — PUBLISHES HIS WORK ON
LAZARETTOS — 1786 — 1789.**

THOUGH the atmosphere of one apartment was now made more wholesome, the whole air of the Lazaretto was infected, and, owing to its being so badly conducted, it was still a very dangerous residence. Being furnished with the printed regulations concerning it, Mr. Howard had the means of comparing its present degenerate state with what it was originally intended to be, and part of his occupation, whilst a prisoner within its walls, was translating those documents, and writing an account of the present state of the lazaretto.

Whilst our philanthropist was making this singular sacrifice to the cause of humanity, he received a packet of letters from his far distant home. Their varied contents were however such as to give him far more pain than pleasure. That

calm frame of mind and those even spirits, which his personal sufferings could not affect, were not proof against the sad tidings which reached him of his son's conduct. From his intimate friends, and confidential servants, he heard of the strange whims and extravagant behaviour of that only child; but the whole truth was not told him; none of his correspondents mentioned their suspicions, that his son labored under a mental malady. Not being at that time certain of the fact, they refrained from making the suggestion, though it would probably have been rather a consolation to the father than otherwise.

Another piece of intelligence reached him at this time, which would have been to most men very gratifying news, but which seems to have given Mr. Howard unmixed pain. He was informed, that a subscription had been set on foot, in England, for the purpose of erecting a statue, or some other monument, to his honor; that it was rapidly filled with the names of ministers, nobles, and persons of distinction, and a committee was appointed to determine upon the best mode of executing the design. His confidential friends knew his repugnance to all public honors so well, that they had discountenanced the undertaking, and now hastened to inform

him of the steps which had been hastily taken in the affair by his admirers in England. So far was this truly modest man from deriving any pleasure from so remarkable a testimony of public esteem, that all his expressions on the subject show his retiring nature to have been deeply wounded by the possibility of such an exposure to the world. In a letter to Mr. Smith, in which he poured out his grief as a father, he thus writes of the proposed monument.

“To hasten to the other very distressing affair, oh, why could not my friends, who know how much I detest such parade, have stopped such a hasty measure! — As a private man with some peculiarities, I wished to retire into obscurity and silence. — Indeed, my friend, I cannot bear the thought of being thus dragged out. I immediately wrote, and hope something may be done to stop it. My best friends must disapprove it. It deranges and confounds all my schemes — my exaltation is my fall, my misfortune.”

He mentions,* in the same letter, as a proof how opposed his wishes were to monumental honors, that, before he set out on this journey, he

* Dr. Aikin's Life of Howard.

had given directions, that in case of his death his funeral expenses should not exceed ten pounds — that his tomb should be a plain slip of marble, placed underneath that of his dear Henrietta, in Cardington church, with this inscription : *John Howard, died —, aged —. My hope is in Christ.*

In all his letters written from Vienna, he expresses the deepest concern on the subject of the monument, and always classes that and the news of his son's conduct together as two very distressing affairs. In writing to John Prole he kindly laments the trouble and anxiety which that faithful servant was suffering from the misconduct of his son, thanks him for his wise and prudent behaviour, and promises to return home as soon as he can after his quarantine is over. In all his lamentations over that misguided youth we see the wounded feelings of an affectionate parent mingled with the habitual resignation of a truly pious man, and the struggles of a mind devoted to large schemes of benevolence, against being too much absorbed by private woe.

When this voluntary prisoner had completed the term of his confinement, he left the lazaretto with his health and spirits so much impaired by all he had suffered there, that he found it neces-

sary to remain a week in Venice, in order to recruit, before he began his long and wearisome journey home. Suffering under the slow hospital fever, he left Venice and crossed the Adriatic to Trieste. There he was able to procure a good, easy travelling-carriage, and proceeded in it with relays of horses to Vienna, which place he reached in five days, travelling the whole time, with the exception of one night, when he was so much fatigued he was forced to stop.

Notwithstanding his miserable state of health, he had hardly allowed himself the necessary repose after his long journey, before he was actively engaged in the inspection of prisons, hospitals, &c. in the Austrian capital. The Emperor Joseph II. had shown a laudable zeal in the improvement of such establishments, and Howard saw with great delight the good effects of his personal attention to these matters. On the eve of his departure from Vienna, he received an intimation that the Emperor wished for an interview with him. Knowing that the etiquette of the court required that persons presented to the sovereign should kneel before him, and having a great repugnance to such a servile act, he excused himself, on the score of leaving the city early the next morning. The Emperor disap-

pointed him however, by offering to receive him at the earliest hour he chose to name, and he could not escape the interview. The objectionable ceremony of kneeling was not required of this privileged philanthropist, and he had a very satisfactory conversation of two hours with the Emperor, in which he opened his mind to him on the subject of hospitals, prison discipline, &c., with the utmost freedom. He told the monarch that he had seen in his prisons many things that filled him with grief and astonishment. "The torture has been said to be abolished in your Majesty's dominions," said Howard, "but it is only so in appearance; for what is now practised is in reality worse than any other torture. Poor wretches are confined twenty feet below ground, in places just fitted to receive their bodies, and some of them are kept there for eighteen months. Others are in dungeons, chained so closely to the wall that they can scarcely move. All of them are deprived of proper consolation and religious support." Here the Emperor seemed to feel some uneasiness, and abruptly said, "Sir, in your country they hang for the slightest offences." — "I grant," replied Mr. Howard, "that the multiplicity of her capital punishments is a disgrace to England; but as one fault does not

excuse another, so neither in this case is the parallel just ; for I declare I would rather be hanged, if it were possible, ten times over, than undergo such a continuance of sufferings as the unhappy beings endure who are confined in your Majesty's prisons."

When speaking of work-houses, Mr. Howard did not forget to give the Emperor a hint of the great mischief he had done by changing the discipline of that at Ghent ; and on being asked where he had ever seen a good institution of this kind, he emphatically replied, " There *was* one at Ghent ; but not now, not now ! " At this speech the monarch started, and seemed a good deal shocked, but not at all displeased with his bold reprover. On the contrary, he shook him cordially by the hand at parting, and said he had given him much pleasure. The Emperor afterwards told his minister that he was greatly pleased with Mr. Howard's visit, — that he was a man without ceremony or compliment, and that he liked him the better for it.

Conscious that he had made an impression on the mind of the Emperor, Howard delayed his journey a few days in order to see if any good effects followed ; and had the happiness of knowing, before he left, that orders were issued for

redressing many of the grievances, he had pointed out.

No sooner was it known that the English traveller had been thus graciously received by the Emperor, than the sycophants of the court hastened to pay their respects to him. Among the number who were thus induced to call upon him, was the governor of Upper Austria and his countess. He had recently been appointed, and appeared very vain of his new office. Inquiring, in a spirit of pride rather than benevolence, into the state of the prisons, in that part of the country he was about to rule over, Howard replied, without hesitation, that they were the worst in all Germany, particularly as to the condition of the female prisoners, and he recommended the countess to visit them personally, as the best means of rectifying the abuses in their management. This proposition so offended the haughty lady, that she abruptly left the room with the governor, and both descended the narrow stair-case which led to Howard's humble lodgings so rapidly, that he feared some accident would befall them before they reached the street. During their precipitate retreat, this uncompromising moralist called after her, in a loud tone of voice, "Madam, remember that you are a woman yourself, and

must soon, like the most miserable female prisoner in a dungeon, inhabit but a small space of that earth from which you equally originated." This was new language for courtly ears, and no doubt hastened the exit of this offended pair.

On leaving Vienna, Mr. Howard travelled the first five hundred miles towards Holland, without stopping for rest or refreshment. The letters he had received at Vienna contained still more distressing accounts of his son, and had awakened in him a suspicion that derangement of mind might be the cause of his untoward conduct. He had accordingly requested his friends to write to him at Amsterdam, and let him know the worst. The task devolved upon the faithful John Prole, by whose letter this anxious father learnt that his suspicions were but too well founded, that his only son was now a lunatic, under the care of two keepers, in his house at Cardington.

Early in February, 1787, Mr. Howard arrived at his own house in London, which, in consequence of the mournful occupation of his mansion at Cardington, now became his principal residence. After a short repose from the fatigue of travelling, he went to Cardington to see for himself the extent of his son's malady, and found

him a raving maniac, threatening destruction to his dearest friends, and particularly averse to his father and to Thomasson ; equally incensed against the kind and wise guardian of his youth, and the companion and instigator of his profligate courses. Having seen his old friends and neighbours, thanked them for the judicious part they had acted towards his unhappy son, and testified his sense of the excellent conduct of John Prole and others in this sad affair, Howard returned to London, for his once happy home was no longer a fit residence for him. Resignation and constant occupation were the only balm for his wounded feelings, and he was too pious, and too deeply pledged to the public, not to reap the full benefit of both.

One of his earliest efforts for the good of others, was an application to the English government on behalf of the poor Protestant condemned to the galleys of Toulon ; and as the French and English were at that time on amicable terms, the affair was easily negotiated, and he soon had the satisfaction of hearing that the man was restored to liberty.

The project of erecting a statue to Howard was still persisted in, and but a few days before his return to England, a letter appeared in "The

Gentleman's Magazine," strongly urging the subscribers to the fund to persist in their design, without being influenced by the over-delicacy of Mr. Howard, "who," it was said, "would at last respect that decision which he was unable to control." But the writer little knew the firmness and consistency of the character in question. Howard put an end to the plan by the following spirited and dignified letter, addressed to the subscribers and published in all the principal public journals.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"You are entitled to all the gratitude I can express for the testimony of approbation you have intended me, and I am truly sensible of the honor done me; but at the same time you must permit me to inform you, that I cannot, without violating all my feelings, consent to it, and that the execution of your design would be a cruel punishment to me. It is therefore my earnest request, that those friends, who wish my happiness and future comfort in life, would withdraw their names from the subscription, and that the execution of your design may be laid aside for ever.

"I shall always think the reform now going on in several of the jails in this kingdom, and which

I hope will become general, the greatest honor, and the most ample reward, I can possibly receive.

“I must further inform you, that I cannot permit the fund, which in my absence, and without my consent, hath been called the Howardian Fund to go in future by that name; and that I will have no concern in the disposal of the money subscribed; my situation and various pursuits rendering it impossible for me to pay any attention to such a general plan, which can only be carried into due effect, in particular districts, by a constant attention, and a constant residence.

“I am, my Lords and Gentlemen,

“Your obedient and faithful,

“humble servant,

“JOHN HOWARD.

“London, Feb. 16, 1787.

“To the subscribers for erecting a statue, &c. to Mr. Howard.”

His letter had the desired effect, the project was abandoned, and the subscribers were invited to reclaim their money. Out of more than £1,500 only five hundred was refunded; the rest was placed in the stocks, and was employed after the death of the philanthropist, to confer that honor on his memory which his modesty refused while living.

As Howard intended to publish another quarto volume, containing a full account of the lazarettos and hospitals which he had visited in his last foreign tour, he was desirous of adding to it, a further description of the gaols, bridewells, and hospitals of his own country; and in order to note the changes which might have taken place since the publication of his former work, he entered upon another general tour of inspection throughout the United Kingdom. In Ireland he extended his views to the charter-schools and eventually procured a great change in them for the better.* These tours occupied him about two years, at the end of which time he began to print the results of his labors abroad and at home. This he did at Warrington, and with the same friendly help that had before lightened his task. The same regularity and the same assiduity mark-

* Whilst in Ireland he was continually pressed to accept dinner-invitations; but he was too economical of time to throw it away in sitting through a ceremonious dinner, and accordingly declined most of them. Being very much importuned by a certain nobleman, he at length consented to dine with him, on condition he would give him nothing but potatoes to eat. He went and found the table spread with nineteen dishes of potatoes, each cooked in a different manner.

ed his part in the business, and his usual liberality to the printers made them diligent in his service. During the three months that he devoted to superintending the press at Warrington, he associated in the most friendly manner with many of the respectable inhabitants of the town, though these happened to be of very different religious creeds from himself, being for the most part Unitarians and Quakers. Notwithstanding the unusual coldness of the weather, he took his daily walks while the workmen at the printing-office dined ; and as he was in the habit of entering into conversation with any one he met, and particularly with children, he was long affectionately remembered by those to whom he had thus introduced himself.

The title of his new work gives one a very good idea of its contents ; it ran thus, — “ An Account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe, with various Papers relative to the Plague ; together with some further Observations on some foreign Prisons and Hospitals ; and additional Remarks on the Present State of those in Great Britain and Ireland.” He took for a motto this appropriate text of Scripture, “ *O let the sorrowful sighing of the PRISONERS come before thee.*”

Having sent his book into the world, he retired to Cardington, whence his son had been removed to a well-regulated lunatic asylum. Here, as a friend of his has said, "he continued to devise liberal things for his poor neighbours and tenants." As this was the last time he resided at Cardington, many anecdotes of his generosity at this period have been treasured up, as sacred memorials of this loved benefactor; but after seeing that it was always the chief business of his life to do good to others, it is needless to multiply individual instances. Some extracts from the journal he kept at this time, will show the springs of all his actions; and when we behold these secret workings of his mind, we feel the beauty and harmony of his life and character.

"If the *projectile* motion shows a *forming* God, the *centripetal* force, acting incessantly, shows a *preserving* God. * * * * *

"God considers what weak creatures we are, and therefore gives us every motive to do good.

"Jacob speaks of the Angel who had been his guide in all his journeys and had delivered him out of all his dangers; — Jacob's God I trust is my God, and my guide, and my portion for ever.

“An approving conscience adds pleasure to every act of piety, benevolence, and self-denial. It inspires serenity and brightens every gloomy hour, disarming adversity, disease, and death. It is my ambition to put on the Lord Jesus; ‘to have the same mind in me which was also in him.’

“Health, time, powers of mind, and worldly possessions are from God. Do I consecrate them all to him? So help me, O my God! * *

“Our superfluities should be given up for the convenience of others — our conveniences should give place to the necessities of others — and even our necessities give way to the extremities of the poor.

“*Sunday evening, March 15th, 1789.*”

CHAPTER XVII.

MR. HOWARD'S PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
 AGAIN — LETTER FROM MOSCOW — CHERSON —
 MR. HOWARD'S SICKNESS AND DEATH — 1789 —
 1790.

IN Mr. Howard's work [on Lazarettos, he intimated an intention of going abroad; again, on the same mission which had already carried him into regions infected with the plague; and, anticipating the construction which the world might put upon such devotion to the cause, he says in the conclusion of that book, "To my country, I commit the result of my past labors. It is my intention again to quit it for the purpose of revisiting Russia, Turkey, and some other countries, extending my tour in the East. I am not insensible of the dangers that must attend such a journey. ● Trusting, however, in the protection of that kind Providence which has hitherto preserved me, I calmly and cheerfully commit myself to the disposal of unerring wisdom. Should it please God to cut off my life in the prosecution of this design, let not my conduct be *uncandidly* imputed to *rashness* or *enthusiasm*,

but to a *serious, deliberate* conviction that I am pursuing the path of *duty*; and to a sincere desire of being made an instrument of more extensive usefulness to my fellow-creatures than could be expected in the narrower circle of a retired life."

Having witnessed the fatal effects and terrific nature of the plague, and believing that very little was yet known of the manner in which it was propagated, Howard conceived that a patient and careful investigation of the subject, in those regions where it raged, might lead to important results. He knew that the best way of coming at a true theory on any subject, is by a careful collection of all the facts that can be ascertained concerning it. He had been long trained to this kind of work, and he was willing to devote himself to it, in the hope of being the humble means of mitigating the horrors of the plague. He used to say of himself, "I am the plodder who goes about to collect materials for men of genius to make use of." He was, however, very far from being a mere *plodder*; his turn of mind was peculiarly fitted to laborious accuracy and minute examination, and his fine moral qualities turned these powers to the highest account.

Whilst he was deliberately and cheerfully making up his mind to this distant and perilous en-

terprise, he was fully impressed with the belief that he should not live to return to his native land, as appears by his conversations with all his intimate friends, when taking leave of them. When his old friend and pastor at Stoke Newington was expressing his concern at parting with him, from a persuasion they should never meet again upon earth, Howard cheerfully replied, "We shall soon meet in heaven;" and as he expected to die of the plague in Egypt, rather than elsewhere, he added, "The way to heaven, from Grand Cairo, is as near as from London." To another friend he said, "You will probably never see me again; be that as it may, it is a matter of no concern to me, whether I lay down my life in Turkey, in Egypt, in Asia Minor, or elsewhere; my whole endeavour is to fulfill, according to the ability of so weak an instrument as I am, the will of that gracious Providence *who has condescended to raise in me a firm persuasion that I am employed in what is consonant to his divine approbation.*"

With a mind thus fully prepared to *do right and abide the consequences*, he was not liable to be shaken in his purpose by the remonstrances and entreaties of those, who, not understanding the ground of his determination, thought to dissuade him from it, by forcible representations of its

attendant dangers. Happy the man who is under such guidance! In following a path thus marked out for him, his heart "is not troubled," neither "can he fear any evil thing." When duty and inclination are become one; when the heart of man is so disciplined that it has become his "meat to do his Father's will," and that will is clearly revealed to him in the secrecy of his own soul,—his happiness is placed beyond the influence of circumstances; in all things he can give thanks, and can say, as Howard did to a friend, who was assuring him of his certain death if he persevered in his plan, "It is well; whatever pleases God, pleases me."

After this insight into the mind of the philanthropist, we can see him make his preparations, and seek his end in a far distant clime, without any of those regrets which belong to disastrous events that are brought about by the perverse will of man.

Being then fully resolved upon his dangerous enterprise, Mr. Howard set about his preparations with the same exactness and assiduity that he would have employed, had he been sure that he had but a few weeks to live. He made his will, leaving numerous legacies to his servants, tenants, poor neighbours, and friends. He even had the

marble tablet prepared which he desired might be his only monument. The inscription was cut upon it, blank spaces being left for the insertion of his age, and the day, year, and place of his decease. Knowing that, according to custom, a funeral sermon would be preached at his death, by his friend and pastor, Mr. Smith, he gave that gentleman very particular directions not to make it a eulogy, and exacted a solemn promise from him, that he would not enter into any particulars of his life and actions; he also requested him to take, for his text, the last verse of the 17th Psalm, as being expressive of the prevailing desire of his heart. "As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness; I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness." He always shrank from notoriety; he considered that the world had no right to know any thing more of him than what was given in his own publications; and in order to prevent, as far as possible, the exposure of his private affairs after death, he spent several days in destroying all the letters and papers in his possession, which might be of use in such an attempt. Happily for us, he could not lay his hand on all; many interesting letters were in the possession of his correspondents, and were found to throw light on his val-

uable character ; thus rendering his example doubly useful to posterity.

He made last visits to all his poor neighbours, speaking words of comfort and kindness to all, and leaving with each some appropriate token of his regard. He placed his old and trusty bailiff, John Prole, on one of his farms, and made provision in his will for his remaining on it as long as he should choose. He did the same for his worthy gardener, Joshua Crockford, and the evening before his departure he walked with him till a very late hour, in the deep shade of his favorite fir-walk, planted by himself and his beloved Henrietta, in days long gone by. There he gave his gardener particular directions about keeping the grounds in order, saying that if he should live to return to his native shores, he hoped to end his days at Cardington. He gave Mrs. Prole who had been Mrs. Howard's waiting-maid and was greatly attached to her memory, the miniature of that lady to keep during his absence, and to possess as her own, if he did not live to return. He also presented her with a very pretty tea-caddy, requesting her to keep it for his sake ; and when he afterwards dismissed John Prole, who attended him as far as London, he sent her a quantity of fine tea to put in it. This

caddy with some of that tea in it, and the last guinea which she received from Mr. Howard, and which he slipped into her hand at parting, were kept by the good woman as long as she lived, as sacred relics of her beloved master.

It was Mr. Howard's intention to go abroad now, as he had done before, unattended by any domestic; but the urgent solicitations of Thomasson to accompany him at last prevailed. After being fully warned of the danger, he was allowed to go, and was accordingly despatched to London to make the necessary preparations. Thither Mr. Howard followed in a few days, and having now made all his arrangements, paid every farthing that he owed, provided for the comfort of all who were in any way dependent upon him, and taken an affectionate leave of all his friends, except the aged Dr. Price, nothing remained to be done but to bid adieu to that valued friend. Of this parting, Dr. Aikin thus writes: "From the age and infirmities of the one, and the hazards the other was going to encounter, it was the foreboding of each of them, that they should never meet again in this world; and their farewell corresponded with the solemnity of such an occasion. The reader's mind will pause upon the parting embrace of two such men; and re-

vere the mixture of cordial affection, tender regret, philosophic firmness, and Christian resignation, which their minds must have displayed."

A few hours after this interview, the traveller was on his road, and about the 4th of July, 1789, he left his native shores to return to them no more. Landing in Holland, he used his accustomed diligence in getting over the ground, and yet seeing much by the way; a sketch of his route is given in a letter to Dr. Price, which, as it is one of the last he ever wrote, must be given entire.

"Moscow, Sept. 22d, 1789.

"My Dear Friend,

"Your kind desire of hearing from me engages me to write. When I left England, I first stopped at Amsterdam. I proceeded to Osna-burgh, Hanover, Brunswick, and Berlin; then to Königsberg, Riga, and Petersburg, at all which places I visited prisons and hospitals, which were all flung open to me, and in some the burgomasters accompanied me into the dungeons as well as into the other rooms of confinement.

"I arrived a few days ago in this city, and have begun my rounds. The hospitals are in a sad state; upwards of seventy thousand sailors and recruits died in them last year. I labor to con-

vey the torch of philanthropy into these dismal regions, as in God's hand no instrument is weak, and in whose presence no flesh must glory.

"I go through Poland into Hungary. I hope to have a few nights of this moon in my journey to Warsaw, which is about a thousand miles. I am quite well—the weather clear—thermometer 48°—but have not yet begun fires. I wish for a mild winter, and shall then make some progress in my European expedition.

"My medical acquaintance give me but little hope of escaping the plague in Turkey; but my spirits do not at all fail me; and, indeed, I do not look back, but would readily endure any hardships, and encounter any dangers, to be an honor to my Christian profession.

"I hope to hear from my friend, yet I know not where he can direct to me, unless at Sir Robert Ainslie's, Constantinople. I will hope all things. Remember me to sister, nieces, and Mr. Morgan.

"I am, my much esteemed friend,

"Most affectionately and sincerely yours,

"JOHN HOWARD."

After finishing this letter, the writer changed his determination, and instead of turning his steps towards Warsaw, he resolved to pursue his journey, through Russian Tartary, to the shores of

the Black sea, where a war with Turkey had occasioned the assembling of a large military force. The gross mismanagement of military and naval hospitals had attracted his notice. He had learned from good authority, that 70,000 recruits had died in Russia, during the preceding year, and he did not doubt that the mortality was, in a great degree, occasioned by the ignorance and inhumanity which prevailed in hospitals. The hope of ameliorating the condition of the sick soldiery, induced him to traverse the wild and dreary regions, which separate Moscow from Cherson; and he accordingly performed the journey, visiting hospitals and prisons by the way, and doing all in his power to mitigate the horrors of war.

At Cherson he found the military and naval hospitals in the worst possible condition; from forty to fifty died daily; spirituous liquors were served round to the sick and dying by persons intoxicated themselves; and on Mr. Howard's remonstrating, he was told the physician had ordered it as a treat to the patients. At Witowka, a new settlement forty miles from Cherson, hundreds of brave fellows, who had lately fought the battles of their country, were allowed to perish from neglect and bad treatment. Nor was

the state of the convalescents any better. Seeing about twenty poor objects standing together at the end of the town, Howard inquired into the particulars of their wretched condition, and learned that they were recruits, just out of the hospital, and waiting for orders to go to the next town, about sixteen wersts distant. There was not a house, or a tree, to shelter them by the way, a wet night was coming on, and the poor shivering wretches, scarcely recovered from a fever, were so weak, and ill-clothed, that many must have dropped by the way. A gentleman who accompanied Howard to Witowka told him that he himself counted twenty-four such miserable objects, dead by the road-side.

Amid so much suffering, the philanthropist found ample scope for the exercise of his benevolence, he devoted all his powers, and all his influence to the cause, regardless of the noisome state of the hospitals, and the malignant disorders which prevailed in them; nor was it in these hot-beds of infection that he imbibed the fatal miasma.

After the Russians had taken Bender, the winter was so far advanced that hostile operations were suspended, and the commander of the Russian army at Bender gave permission to seve-

ral of his officers to visit their friends at Cherson. The inhabitants of that place testified their joy at the success of the Russian arms, by balls and masquerades, which were attended by the officers from Bender, and the neighbouring gentry. These festivities had continued but a short time when several persons were attacked with a fever which was believed to be of an infectious kind, and brought by the military from Bender. Among the number thus affected was a young lady who resided twenty miles from the town, but who had participated in the gayeties of Cherson. The disorder soon assumed an alarming appearance ; as Mr. Howard had acquired the reputation of a skilful physician by his successful treatment of patients in the hospitals, he was earnestly requested to visit her. This he at first refused to do, alleging that he was a doctor only to the poor ; but hearing that she was in great danger, he was finally prevailed upon to attend her ; and made her two visits in the latter end of December, 1789. Having prescribed what he thought proper, he returned to Cherson, leaving directions with the family, to send for him again if she grew better, of which however he had little hope. A letter informing him that his patient was improving in her health, and urging him to

visit her again without loss of time, was despatched to Howard, but miscarried, and did not reach him till eight days after it was written. As soon as he received it, he resolved to go immediately. The weather was cold and tempestuous, and the rain fell in torrents. No carriage could be readily obtained, and rather than delay his visit, he mounted an old dray-horse, and proceeded as fast as he could to the residence of the lady, whom he found in a dying state. He gave her something to produce perspiration, and watched its effect by her bed-side. The malignancy of her disorder rendered the atmosphere of her room very offensive, and it was the belief of Mr. Howard that he took the fever of her, when he felt her pulse under the bed-clothes, which he did, to avoid checking her perspiration. Tired and exhausted as he must have been by his cold, wet ride of twenty miles, he was less able than usual to resist infection. The young lady died the next day, and her medical friend returned to Cherson. Two days afterwards, he was able to dine with Admiral Mordrinof, who lived a mile and a half from his lodgings. He stayed later than usual, and walked home in a cold night. He soon found himself unwell, supposed he had the gout flying about him, and prescribed for himself accordingly.

The next day, however, he felt the symptoms of fever, and had recourse to an emetic, and then to his favorite remedy of James's powders. Prince Potemkin sent his physician to attend him, but his own prescriptions were never interfered with. Howard soon considered his case as hopeless of cure, and believed himself to have the same malignant disorder of which his female patient had died. The few memorandums which he made during his illness show his resignation to the will of God, and the perfect calmness with which he looked on death. This state of mind was also strongly exhibited in his conversation with his friend Admiral Priestman, who, missing Mr. Howard's daily calls, came to inquire after his health. The sick man told him his end was approaching very fast, and as he had many things to say to him, he was glad he had called. The Admiral supposed from this, that his friend was in a melancholy mood, and tried to turn the course of his thoughts. But Mr. Howard said in a very impressive, yet cheerful, manner, "Priestman, you style this a dull conversation, and endeavour to divert my mind from dwelling upon *death*; but I entertain very different sentiments. Death has no terrors for me; it is an event I always look to with cheerfulness, if not with pleasure, and be

assured the subject is more grateful to me than any other. I am well aware that I have but a short time to live ; my mode of life has rendered it impossible that I should get rid of this fever. — If I had lived as you do, eating heartily of animal food and drinking wine, I might perhaps by altering my diet be able to subdue it. But how can such a man as I am lower his diet, who has been accustomed for years to live on vegetables and water, a little bread and a little tea ? I have no method of lowering my nourishment, and therefore I must die. It is such jolly fellows as you, Priestman, who get over these fevers.” He next spoke of his funeral, and of the place where he wished to be interred. “ There is a spot,” said he, “ near the village of Dauphigny ; this would suit me nicely ; you know it well, for I have often said that I should like to be buried there ; and let me beg of you, as you value your old friend, not to suffer any pomp to be used at my funeral ; nor any monument, nor no monumental inscription whatsoever to mark where I am laid ; but lay me quietly in the earth, place a sun-dial over my grave, and let me be forgotten.”

• The spot thus selected for the grave of the philanthropist was situated in the grounds of a French gentleman who had shown him much

friendship, during his residence in Cherson, and he now pressed the Admiral to hasten and secure it for him. This he at last reluctantly did. During his absence, Mr. Howard received a letter from a friend in England, who had lately seen his son, and thought his health improved. Thomasson read it to him, for he was too ill to read it himself; it affected him deeply, and he repeatedly charged Thomasson to tell his son,* if ever he were restored to reason, how much and how fervently he had prayed for his happiness, during this last illness. When Admiral Priestman returned to tell him he had executed his commission, his countenance brightened, and he testified his satisfaction and gratitude. He then handed the Admiral the letter from England; and when his friend had finished reading it, he turned his languid head on his pillow, and said, "Is not this comfort for a dying father?" He then expressed a repugnance to being buried according to the rites of the Greek church, and begged the Admiral not only to prevent all interference from the Russian priests, but himself to read the burial-service of the church of England over his body. This was his last request, and nearly the last words he

* He never recovered his senses, but died in the Asylum at Leicester, in 1799.

spoke. He died on the morning of the 20th of January, 1790, verifying the Scripture testimony, that "the end of the good man is peace."

His funeral was not suffered to be so private as he had wished. A long train of carriages and of horsemen followed his body to the spot which he had chosen for his interment, and between two and three thousand persons accompanied it on foot. A small brick pyramid, instead of a sun-dial, was erected over the grave, and is still pointed out to travellers as a memorial, of which even the rude inhabitants of Tartary are proud.

The news of Howard's death was officially announced in England, as a public calamity, and his memory was honored in all possible ways. Five funeral sermons were preached; statesmen, orators,* and poets,† paid their tribute to his worth; the old project of the monument was revived, and a full length statue of the Philanthropist was erected in St. Paul's Cathedral. But his own good works and their enduring consequences are his best memorials. The new prisons built in various parts of Europe, as well as on this great continent, are so many monuments to his

* See Foster's "Essay on Decision of Character."

† See Darwin's "Botanical Garden"; — Merry's "Monody"; — Aikin's "Lines on the Death of Howard."

fame. To carry on ~~the~~ great labor of love, societies have been formed bearing his name, and emulating his deeds. The impulse which he gave to the public mind on the subject of prison discipline has been constantly felt, and continually increasing, ever since his death.

The consequences to the world of such a life as Howard's are infinite, the value of such an example is incalculable; but we shall have studied it in vain, unless, in closing the volume, we seriously resolve to do the utmost good we can, in whatever field of exertion lies before us. All are not called to great public services; but every individual, however obscure, has an appropriate sphere of duty; and he who performs the whole work which his Divine Master gives him to do, is as well approved of God, as if he were the benefactor of the world.

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